

The Nation sues the New Leader

Liberal circles in Manhattan—and very likely elsewhere—are buzzing over the libel suit which the *Nation* has filed against the *New Leader*. In its March 19 issue, the *New Leader*, a staunchly liberal, militantly anti-Communist weekly, published a letter to the Editor of the *Nation* which the Editor of the *Nation* had previously refused to publish. The *Nation* took the position that the letter—written by its former art critic, Clement Greenberg—was libelous. Indeed, it so notified him on February 9, and warned him that, in the event he published the letter elsewhere, “we will immediately bring suit for libel against you and all others connected with its publication or distribution.” Disbelieving in such private censorship, the *New Leader* courageously printed the offending letter because, among other reasons, “the issues raised by Mr. Greenberg are of utmost significance both to liberals and to Americans in general.” One of the issues concerns the propriety of an allegedly independent journal becoming a vehicle through which the interests of a particular state power are expressed. Another concerns the propriety of hiring a man as foreign editor who consistently takes a stand that is indistinguishable from that of the Soviet Union. Since libel suits can be expensive, we hope that the *New Leader*’s friends will generously unbutton their pocketbooks. To throw a spotlight on the odd similarity between the Kremlin’s line and the ideas of one J. Alvarez Del Vayo, a former member of the Spanish Republican cabinet, and in general to puncture the *Nation*’s liberal pretensions is worth a little of anybody’s money.

Fiasco in the Senate

By a 69-21 vote the Senate on April 4 approved the dispatch of four additional divisions to Europe “in implementation of Article 3 of the North Atlantic Treaty.” The Republican-Dixiecrat coalition added the proviso that no more ground troops be committed without express Congressional approval. That stipulation, a major victory for the Taft-Wherry bloc, was the work, ironically enough, of Democratic Senator John L. McClellan (Ark.). Though it does not legally bind the President, it could be embarrassing and, in an emergency, even costly. Like the majority leader, Senator McFarland of Arizona, we are “saddened by what the Senate has done.” But we cannot agree with him that “the Administration is in no wise to blame.” Looking back over the three months during which the troops-to-Europe issue was being kicked around in the Senate, we are appalled at the lack of leadership displayed by the Administration spokesmen. The original resolution reported out by the combined Foreign Relations and Armed Services Committees was so ambiguous that even Senator Tom Connally, Foreign Relations Chairman, when challenged on the floor April 3, could not interpret controversial Section 6 on congressional approval. Clarity had been sacrificed in committee by the Chairman’s insatiable yen for unan-

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imity, which was satisfied—in committee. But when the resolution reached the floor its foggy nature gave Senator McClellan an opportunity to introduce his crippling amendment. The day might still have been saved for the Administration and its baker’s dozen of Republican supporters if Mr. Connally had supported the Ives-McMahon amendment spelling out congressional procedure on future commitments. It failed. Of such confusion fiascos are born.

The Senate cites for contempt

The Senate Crime Investigating Committee has bared its fangs. On March 30, on the motion of the Committee Chairman, Estes Kefauver (D., Tenn.), the Senate voted contempt citations against twelve balking witnesses. Heading the list of uncommunicative witnesses are the key racketeer, Frank Costello (who refused to indicate his net worth), Joe Adonis (against whom another contempt citation is pending in the District Court in Washington), Frank Erickson, big-time gambler, and Jacob “Greasy Thumb” Guzik (second in command to Tony Accardo of Chicago’s Capone Syndicate). All four resisted the Crime Committee’s probing on the ground that their replies might incriminate them. Two of the remaining eight, Morris Kleinman and Louis Rothkopf, both of Cleveland, objected to testifying before the TV camera and radio “mike.” Whether or not the Senate will be able to secure indictment and conviction of the whole dozen remains to be seen. The citations and transcripts of testimony will be forwarded to the Federal District Attorney of the jurisdictions where the alleged offenses took place. Then the Federal grand juries take over. Of fifteen previous contempt citations, only one has come to trial. The defendant went totally free. Harry Russell, reputed representative of the Capone organization, who muscled in on the so-called S & G Syndicate in Miami Beach, was declared not guilty in Federal Court in Washington. Though the grand jury had presented an indictment, Judge J. Dickinson Letts directed the trial jury to bring in a verdict of not guilty. Russell, held the Judge, was within his rights in declining to answer on the grounds that his replies might tend to incriminate him. It is quite possible that the same verdict might be rendered in the case of Costello. A forthright statement of his net worth could lay him

open to charges of income tax evasion. The entire question of constitutional immunity against self-incrimination is due for a legal airing.

Is Congress listening on taxes?

In a country as big as ours, to say that any event is unprecedented is always a risky business. Some reader with a long memory is almost sure to write in, calling attention to a similar occurrence in some obscure place at some undistinguished time decades ago. So we will content ourselves with saying that to the best of our knowledge businessmen have never before practically begged Congress to raise taxes—and begged in vain. Within recent weeks both the National Association of Manufacturers and the Committee for Economic Development have sent proposals to the House Ways and Means Committee which, if enacted, would raise taxes by about \$10 billion. With some of the specific measures recommended by these groups—notably the emphasis on a sales or manufacturer's tax—a man may understandably differ. But he has to be ignorant of economic fundamentals or blinded by self-interest not to concede that hefty taxes are needed. If it was clear months ago—and we thought it was—it is doubly clear now that in no other way can the inflationary forces loosed by the mobilization program be effectively controlled. That holds even though the Administration, surprised by the unexpectedly heavy tax collections this year, last week cut its asking price from \$16 to \$10 billion. Not all the members of Congress, of course, are blind to the need for new taxes. Recently the Joint Committee on the Economic Report urged speedy action, and some of the Senators specified \$10 billion as the right figure. That is far from being the majority opinion, however. On the record to date, this Congress makes the “do-nothing” 80th look like a beehive of activity.

Who's fooling whom on bonds?

At the end of the month the U. S. Treasury will launch its first Defense Bond campaign. Because of what Sylvia F. Porter, financial columnist of the New York Post, has called “an insidious anti-bond campaign that was close to being vicious disloyalty,” it has become necessary to remind the public of a fundamental fact or two. In the first place, Uncle Sam's bonds are still the best and safest buy in the world. In the second

place, to buy bonds in a period like this, when the fires of inflation are raging, is an act of enlightened patriotism. Every time a citizen lends his savings to the Government, the “inflationary gap”—the gap between available consumer goods and spendable income—is diminished by that much. These facts are ignored in the dangerous anti-bond talk which thoughtless people have been circulating. There is another reason why at the moment public confidence in Government bonds must not be shaken. Beginning this year and extending through a five-year period, some \$20 billion of E bonds will reach maturity. The Treasury has offered an attractive plan which enables bond owners to extend their holdings for another ten-year period. It would be a pity if the anti-bond campaign should dissuade them—to their personal disadvantage and to the country's—from doing so. Hold the bonds you have and buy some new ones.

Deferment of students

March went out like a lamb—for students. On March 31 President Truman, under authority he has from the Selective Service Act of 1948, amended the administrative regulations dealing with the deferment of persons engaged in “necessary employment.” Henceforth those accepted for admission into, or already students in, “a professional school of medicine, dentistry, veterinary medicine, osteopathy, or optometry” can be deferred. The same goes for all colleges, universities and graduate schools, except that the Director of SS will have to define the “categories” of courses “necessary to the maintenance of the national health, safety or interest.” All students will have to qualify for deferment, either through their scholastic “standing,” through special “tests” to be set up by SS, or both. The general policy of defining study as “necessary employment” is certainly sound. We can't prevent or win a war, much less win a peace, by short-changing ourselves educationally. Secondly, how sensible the new policy will be in practice will depend almost entirely upon how Maj. Gen. Lewis B. Hershey administers it. Judging from his several appearances on TV panels, we'd say he should do pretty well, though his obvious “horse-sense” may fall short of full appreciation of what the colleges contribute to the “national interest” in its broadest terms. Lastly, those “tests” present a problem. You can't “test” such a quality as “horse-sense,” for example, or character, industry, prudence, or reliability. Yet these qualities, precisely in the case of students, are at least as important to “the national interest” as intellectual sharpness. (Cf. Alger Hiss.) How to get around this poser, unless by accepting the judgment of teachers and administrators, we cannot even suggest.

Dr. Bunche assails Governor Byrnes

If any man should know the baneful effects upon our foreign policy of reckless and intolerant language used by men in public life here at home, it is Dr. Ralph J. Bunche, Negro winner of the Nobel Peace Prize.

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His past experience as mediator in the Jewish-Arab conflict in Palestine and his present position as director of the Trusteeship Council of the United Nations give great weight to his calculations of the international repercussions of American racism. In an address in New York City on March 31, he charged that Gov. James F. Byrnes of South Carolina had harmed America's foreign relations by recent "undemocratic declarations and practices." Dr. Bunche termed "shocking" Governor Byrnes' declaration that he would have his State go so far as to "abandon the public-school system" altogether rather than bow to any decision of the Federal courts which might call for non-segregation. It was particularly shocking because Mr. Byrnes, as former Supreme Court Justice and Secretary of State, should be in a position to know "how costly are such undemocratic declarations and practices to our foreign relations, to our international reputation for democracy, our prestige and our leadership." They are taken as typical of our American way of life. The Byrneses and the Talmadges, however, in Dr. Bunche's view, are fighting a rear-guard action. Classic barriers to interracial progress, like the poll-tax and other anti-Negro devices, are steadily falling. Despite such obstacles the record is one of advance, and "louder voices and bigger men" than they are, said Dr. Bunche, have seen "their bigotries prove futile." As Rev. Raymond A. McGowan, Director of the Social Action Department of the NCWC, told the National Council of Catholic Men in Washington, D. C. on March 31, discrimination against Mexicans and Negroes is a "blot on our American reputation," but a blot that we can remove once and for all if we back the sound movements and organizations which are striving against it.

Spiritual mobilization is not simple

President Harry S. Truman braved a Washington drizzle on March 28 to talk to members of the Associated Church Press about what he considers "the most important thing in the world today." To the 85 editors of Protestant publications gathered in the Rose Garden of the White House the President repeated his frequently expressed theme: the need to "mobilize the moral forces of the world for the welfare of mankind against the unmoral forces." Mr. Truman conceded that he is "somewhat hipped" on the subject. Indeed he felt that "In this time of crisis with which we are now faced, petty things should be forgotten, denominational quarrels should be overlooked." The President would strengthen his moral leadership, we think, if he exacted higher standards of public morality within his own Administration. The next day the Association voted a resolution praising the President for not appointing an "Ambassador to the Court of Pope Pius XII," an action which would be "an infringement of the Constitution of the United States." It is more than doubtful that the resolution contributed conspicuously to the mobilization of the moral forces of the world. Indeed, the hypocrisy of the separation of Church

and State issue was underlined during the Association's discussion of the grounds for claiming exemption for the church press from the proposed increase in postal rates. G. Elson Ruff, editor of the *Lutheran*, called on the convention either to claim the exemption as religious papers or refuse the exemption altogether. "If we did the latter," Dr. Ruff declared, "there wouldn't be a single delegate here who would approve the resolution."

Free labor and slave labor

"The Marshall Plan has been more than a gesture of human brotherhood," declared French Foreign Minister Robert Schuman at the third anniversary celebration of the employes of the Economic Cooperation Administration in Washington on April 2. "Your aim" [in the Marshall Plan], he continued,

was to provide again to our ruined and devastated continent the possibility of living by its own labor, in free cooperation with other nations. After its political liberation, Europe was thus able to recover the freedom of its economic initiative.

How far that freedom has been recovered was pointed out by Charles E. Wilson, Director of Defense Mobilization, in his first quarterly report to President Truman on "Cooperating in the Defense Mobilization of the Free World." The rate of military production has more than doubled in the two years since the signing of the North Atlantic Treaty, and it is expected to double again in the next twelve months. This progress would not have been possible without the economic aid given by the United States. Contrast these facts with those being reported from behind the Iron Curtain. From Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Poland come persistent reports of an increasing cleavage between workers and the regimes. Coal production figures, for example, are not meeting the "plans." The "cure" applied? Severer regimentation of the workers. It becomes clearer every day that only free workers have a will to be strong. It will be one of the ironies of history if (perhaps the word is "when") the very workers communism professes to "liberate" become the rock on which it founders.

Shift in Italian Left

During the fortnight just elapsed the Left made most of the news in Italian politics. After a few days of intensive debate at their annual party Congress, the Right Wing Socialists, led by Giuseppe Saragat, voted by a narrow margin to amalgamate with the Unitarian Socialists. Originally the latter had laid down two conditions for fusion. The Saragat Socialists had to quit Premier Alcide de Gasperi's coalition cabinet and cease supporting the Government's economic and military link with the West. The settlement came only after both groups had made compromises. The Right Wingers resigned from the Cabinet on April 4, and the Unitarian Socialists agreed to support the Atlantic Pact and all that it involves. The negotiations were complicated by the unsought for intervention of the Nenni (pro-Communist) Socialists and the

Communists themselves. In the middle of the Right-Wing Socialist Congress, Nenni publicly suggested that since the Atlantic Pact was "a necessity under present conditions," Italians might give it cautious support. After that bombshell exploded, Palmiro Togliatti, the leading Soviet spokesman in Italy, revealed that the Communist party was willing to reenter the Cabinet and work with other parties for the country's rehabilitation. It would appear that all this waving of olive-branches was destined to bring down the de Gasperi Cabinet and unite all the parties on the left. If so, the tactic misfired. The withdrawal of the Right Wing Socialists from the Cabinet will not undermine the Government—at least not for the present. Premier de Gasperi's Christian Democratic party has an absolute majority in both the Chamber and the Senate. On the other hand, the fusion of the Sarragat group with the Unitarian Socialists, which will be formally accomplished on May 1, solidifies the Italian Socialist opposition to Moscow. That cannot cheer the Kremlin much, what with municipal elections coming up in Italy toward the end of May.

Food for India

The proposed bill to ship 2 million tons of grain to India has been kicking around Congress these many weeks. On March 30 Red China, in spite of a spring famine which has struck several areas in the country, has offered to supplement an original barter agreement with 50 thousand additional tons of rice for India. The Peiping regime has thus put the United States on the diplomatic defensive, pointing up her own "generosity" as opposed to the niggardly attitude of our "capitalistic imperialism." President Truman asked on February 12 for authorization to send the grain. In view of popular support of the bill, Congress will probably not vote it down. But too many Congressmen are convinced that they must teach India a lesson for her attitude in Korea by allowing the Nehru Government to squirm on a hot seat until the last minute. Unfortunately, the last minute may be too late. Clifford C. Taylor, agricultural counselor of the American Embassy in New Delhi, has already warned that "the food shortage in Bihar State is the most serious in India and building up to a critical situation." President Truman contends, though our grain stocks are not excessive, we can supply the 2 million tons needed "without reaching the danger point" (AM. 2/24, p. 602). We have the shipping space. Since February 15, three hundred Liberty ships have been broken out in anticipation of Britain's need for coal and India's need for food. Even though we did not have the necessary bottoms, the question might be raised as to whether we are using what space we have as economically as possible. Why, for example, do charter men ship sugar from the Caribbean area to Japan and then turn around and ship Philippine sugar all the way to the North Atlantic? There are other transportation jams, as well, to be solved both here and in India. That emphasizes all the more the need for speedy action in Congress, for India's hungry millions cannot wait forever.

LABOR AND MANAGEMENT

Security-minded employers and union leaders are no longer hamstrung by the Taft-Hartley Act from taking appropriate measures against Communists and other subversives. In a case involving the discharge of two Communist employes, both union officials, George J. Bott, NLRB General Counsel, upheld a regional director who refused to issue a complaint against the employer involved. So long as the company acted "in good-faith reliance upon the belief that the employes were Communists," Mr. Bott could find no evidence that the T-H ban on discriminatory firings had been violated.

In a related case, a union with a union-shop contract asked the employer to discharge a worker who had been expelled from the union for Communist activities. Despite an unambiguous T-H clause forbidding a union to procure the discharge of a worker except for non-payment of dues, Mr. Bott said that Communist activity "was, of course, not protected by the Act and a discharge because of it would not be an unfair labor practice." As a result of the latter decision, unions can no longer argue that T-H makes it impossible for them to deal with Communists.

It is not enough, says a new report on social security by the U. S. Chamber of Commerce, "to correct errors, oppose unsound proposals and attempt to check questionable trends." Management must provide "effective leadership in the quest for sound, constructive policies and workable methods to achieve the maximum degree of worker satisfaction and security." The report, now a booklet entitled *Toward Worker Security*, mentions that one out of four workers is not protected by the Social Security Act, two out of five are not covered by unemployment compensation, and little has been done to shield workers from the shattering effects of permanent and total disability. The report shows management thinking has come a long way since early New Deal days.

The United Rubber Workers (CIO) finally broke through the solid opposition to the union shop of the "Big Four" in the rubber industry. On March 30, Goodyear Tire and Rubber Company, faced with a strike over the issue, agreed to a union shop.

The international convention of the Communications Workers of America (CIO), assembling in Grand Rapids, was overshadowed last week by the conventions of the United Auto Workers (CIO) at Cleveland and the West Coast Longshoremen (expelled from the CIO for following the Communist party line) in Hawaii. Unlike the Communications Workers, who were concerned with bread-and-butter issues, the UAW and the Longshoremen were involved in important political fights. By meeting in Hawaii, where the local unions support him, Harry Bridges enhanced his chances of putting down an anti-Communist revolt. In Cleveland, where Communists tried to exploit opposition to leadership proposals, notably for an increase in dues, Walter Reuther remained firmly in the saddle.

B.L.M.

WASHINGTON FRONT

This observer spent a part of Easter Week in Toronto, Canada. The occasion was the annual meeting of the English Catholic Education Association of Ontario, held simultaneously with the Ontario Education Association. Thus the public schools and the so-called "separate" schools, mostly Catholic ones, mingled together in the hotel lobby. Separation-of-Church-and-State people in this country will probably be shocked to learn that "separate" schools in Ontario receive State funds from Province taxes, though not nearly the amount due them for their work.

The speakers were Cardinal McGuigan, Archbishop of Toronto, Premier Frost of Ontario, and David Balfour, a Catholic representative of Toronto's mayor, and this reporter as a humble exhorter on the East-West conflict. There was a tremendous outpouring of the Province's Catholic educators.

At various functions I was not altogether surprised to be questioned, with characteristic Canadian courtesy, about the sensational Kefauver hearings on crime, and I was not entirely embarrassed to hear the Prime Minister state that refugee racketeers from the States would receive short shrift from him, and then to read later in the papers that he had appointed a "Kefauver committee" of his own to investigate law enforcement—without television, of course.

Coming back to Washington from a less poisonous atmosphere, I realized that the Administration and the Congress had both begun to sense that they had better pull themselves together. The President's party was under the same cloud that ruined President Harding, whose cronies were accused, and some of them convicted, of stealing. The Congress was clearly guilty of having spent three months in political bargaining and wrangling over the question of how our youth and our taxes were to be expended in the national defense, while other important legislation marked time in committees.

Both President and Congress confront tremendous problems. Mr. Truman is faced with a revolt that, if successful, may well destroy our constitutional balance. Other Presidents in the past have been challenged on their legal prerogatives as Commander-in-Chief of the armed forces and as sole organ of the Government in the conduct of our foreign relations. Mr. Truman is as highly conscious of his duty to defend these prerogatives as any before him, but he is in a weaker position. His political enemies are stronger, and his personal followers are fewer, even in his own party. Personal animosities toward him have poisoned every debate, even on domestic subjects. We in the United States have little reason to despise Britain and France for governmental weakness.

WILFRID PARSONS

UNDERSCORINGS

The 31st annual meeting of the National Council of Catholic Men opened in Washington on March 31, with delegates from 13 national Catholic organizations and 24 dioceses. Stewart Lynch, NCCM president, announced that at the Holy Father's request the Men's Council will play a prominent part in the formation of the International Federation of Catholic Men, a clearing house for information and assistance, and in the World Congress of the Lay Apostolate, which will convene in Rome in October.

► In Japan a committee has been formed to raise funds to complete the Peace Memorial at Hiroshima, described in these pages by Hubert F. Schiffer, S.J. (AM. 10/28/50). Actively supporting the drive are His Imperial Highness Prince Takamatsu, Prime Minister Shigero Yoshida, Chief Justice Kotaro Tanaka, the presidents of the Bank of Japan, the Chamber of Commerce and the Federation of Economic Organizations. Chairman of the committee is Hayato Ikeda, Minister of Finance. The Chief Justice is the only Catholic on the committee, though the wife and daughter of the Prime Minister are Catholics. The latter was the principal speaker at their graduation on March 30 from Sacred Heart University, in Tokyo, conducted by the Religious of the Sacred Heart.

► St. John Baptist de La Salle, whose feast occurs on May 15, has been named "Patron of All Teachers" by the Congregation of Rites.

► Vatican representation news: 1) Walter St. Clair Howald Roberts, British Ambassador to Rumania, has been named His Majesty's Minister to the Holy See. 2) Dhirajlal Bhulabhai, India's Minister Plenipotentiary to the Holy See, died on March 21. 3) Carolo Sommarugo has presented his credentials as Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of Liberia. Africa's independent Negro republic has 10,000 Catholics in a total population of 1.6 million. The Holy Father, receiving Mr. Sommarugo, gave his "hearty assent" to the envoy's declaration that the Republic of Liberia wished to take its place among Christian nations. 4) After a conference with President Truman on March 29, Myron C. Taylor, former Presidential representative to the Holy See, announced that "it is foolish to talk" about the possibility of a new personal representative of the President at the Vatican.

► Jacques Maritain, accepting the first Aquinas Medal, an annual award of the American Catholic Philosophical Association, declared that the future of Thomism lies largely in the hands of American scholars in view of the disturbed state of the world.

► The 11th annual convention of the Central States Province of Newman Club Federation at Iowa State College, April 13-15, brings together students from 40 campuses to discuss "the Courageous Catholic." E. D.

Don't despair of the human race

Bobby Hiftline, aged six, suffering from incurable cancer, was "so brave and good," his mother said, in an appeal for "a few kind souls" to write to him. The family lived out in the country and Bobby "liked to look for the mailman." The few kind souls, responding to the mother's appeal in the *New York Times*, grew and grew until Bobby had received over 300,000 letters and packages before he died on March 30.

Eric Joseph, a British seaman, had met his American pal, Phillip Pron, just a month before he asked New York doctors to take his damaged eye, which still had a healthy cornea (the "window"), and transplant it in his Yankee friend, threatened with total blindness. It was better, he thought, for both of them to go through life with a good eye apiece than for his buddy to go totally blind.

In New Jersey, a boilermaker, horribly burned in an explosion a year ago, celebrated his recovery with fifteen friends, each of whom had donated patches of skin to save his life. Many of them had been only acquaintances when the appeal was made.

In Sweden, a clockmaker who had helped 36,000 persons escape the Nazis during the war was honored on his seventieth birthday. More than 1,000 messages from twenty countries showed how well his sacrifices were remembered.

All indicating what? That in the distressed and disaster-ridden world that ours now is, we can't afford ever to lose sight of the fact that there is a vast reservoir of human goodness and human charity. No, we are not forgetting the fact of original sin, nor the other fact that evil deeds abound. Those evils are easy to see. But the familiarity of their countenance must never accustom us to recognize them alone. Zeal to spot and castigate evil ought never override readiness to see and applaud simple, unpretentious human goodness.

How does it happen, then, with this vast reservoir of charity waiting to be tapped, that so much moral laxity gets into high places? Why must a Senator Fulbright or Kefauver call for a rejuvenation of moral standards, of spiritual values, among the leaders of our nation? How does it come about that the Chinese Communists, who must love their children and their fellows as much as we love ours (human goodness is not confined to a nation or a race), can callously rebuff the pleas of the Red Cross for agreement according to the Geneva Conference on humane treatment of prisoners of war?

Perhaps it is because power tends to corrupt. It does because power can so easily be a springboard to pride. How many men, kindly and generous and simply good in private life, come insensibly to feel, when placed in a position of brief authority, that they are above the law, beyond the reaches of simple human goodness.

That is one of the great problems of politics—to

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channel human goodness into the administration of government. It can be done, it would seem, only if those in authority exercise their power with humility. Power will not corrupt goodness if pride does not act as catalyst.

This is being written while we are still in the octave of the Feast of the Annunciation, the day on which the Son of God humbled Himself even to the extent, as the *Te Deum* sings, of not shrinking from the Virgin's womb. This might be, then, the acceptable time to pray that those in power, in our land and all over the world, exercise their functions and wield their power with humility.

The "kind people" who wrote to Bobby, the sailor who gave his eye—these are the salt of the earth. There is still lots of that salt all over the earth, this side of and beyond the Iron Curtain. What is needed is more salt at the top.

Treaty of reconciliation

In an address on March 31 in Los Angeles John Foster Dulles outlined the progress made toward the final conclusion of a Japanese peace treaty. The State Department hailed his statement as a major pronouncement of United States foreign policy. The Soviet Union will no doubt withdraw a little further into its shell of isolationism, more suspicious than ever of what it will probably propagandize as an American-dictated peace pact.

Mr. Dulles and the State Department are all for a "treaty of reconciliation" with Japan. The problem is to convince the Allied nations that a soft peace is to the best interests of all concerned. Our purpose, intimated the Ambassador-at-large, was to keep Japan in the anti-Communist bloc. "If Russia's rulers could exploit the human and industrial potential of either Germany or Japan, it would be a sad day for peace." Therefore Japan must be accepted in the community of nations as an equal to prevent her from being driven into the Soviet camp.

There are two stumbling blocks in the way of a relatively easy-going peace treaty. The first is that the Philippines have been most anxious to obtain reparations from Japan. The second is that Australia and New Zealand still fear a resurgent Japanese militarism. On the subject of reparations, said Mr. Dulles, the United States will be adamant. Common sense on the part of the Allies and Japan's desire for fellowship with the nations who genuinely seek peace, should provide the answer to the second problem.

An economically sound Japan will be of greater benefit to the Pacific community than a Japan deprived of her means of subsistence. Reparations would strip the country of her remaining capital assets. Besides, (the most powerful argument from the American point of view) the United States has no intention of indefinitely pouring financial aid into Japan only to see it siphoned off in the form of reparations to other countries, whose need is much less than the need for a rehabilitated Japan. We are helping the Philippines ourselves, in an orderly way, through the Bell mission.

Certainly there can be no true "reconciliation" in the Far East as long as there exists a continued specter of fear. The United States proposes to dispel the danger of renewed Japanese aggression 1) by reducing Japanese territory to her four main islands, 2) by basing American armed forces in and around Japan and 3) by individual and collective arrangements (which would indicate the possibility of a Pacific pact of some sort) under the Charter of the United Nations.

Mr. Dulles was justifiably pointed in his language with regard to the Soviet Union. Her concurrence in the peace treaty is "not indispensable." Russia's vast takings in Manchuria, Port Arthur, Dairen, Sakhalin and the Kuriles "have repaid her a thousand fold for her six days of nominal belligerence." And then some.

The United States bore the brunt of the victory in the Pacific. We have assumed the responsibility of the occupation, expending some \$2 billion to keep Japan's threatened post-war economy stable. Finally, the amazing success of General MacArthur during the occupation represents a moral investment "to which his countrymen cannot be indifferent."

In the last analysis the United States cannot agree to a treaty with Japan which will continue to place intolerable economic and military burdens on the American people. Such would be the case if Japan were forced to pay reparations and if she were forbidden to rearm to any extent to share in her own self-defense. Though a "treaty of reconciliation" may seem to the Philippines unduly soft, it appears to be the only hope for an era of even tenuous peace in the Far East. The Allied nations cannot allow themselves to be deflected from that objective by their own selfish interests or by Russia's sulking in her corner.

New set-up in Washington

Organized labor has won its case against the conduct of the mobilization program—or most of it, anyway. All the details have not yet been ironed out, but the large lines of the compromise settlement are clear enough.

In the first place, the high-riding Director of the Office of Defense Mobilization, Charles E. Wilson, who demonstrated a surprising inability to understand labor's outlook on life, will not have to climb down and open a few fence gates as he rides herd on the defense program. That is the meaning of the new

Mobilization Advisory Committee, on which labor, agriculture and the public will have equal representation with business. Mr. Wilson will act as chairman of the sixteen-member group, but it is significant that the committee will report directly to the President. In theory Mr. Wilson retains the wide powers originally granted him, but from now on disputed policy decisions will end up on President Truman's desk.

A second projected change will further satisfy labor's demand for a voice on the top policy level. Mr. Wilson has opened the door for a labor man to sit at his elbow, side by side with banker Sidney Weinberg. Though Mr. Wilson denied that labor antagonism had anything to do with it, the recent resignation of his other topflight assistant, General Lucius D. Clay, will facilitate labor's entrance into the ruling circle.

The third concession to labor promises to bring about a new Wage Stabilization Board empowered to deal with all kinds of labor-management disputes, in addition to wages. Opposed to widening the jurisdiction of the Board, industry has until now held up agreement, but a compromise is in the works. Industry, however unwillingly, will take it. The board will probably be empowered to decide all disputes voluntarily referred to it by *both* labor and management, as well as such major disputes as threaten to impede the defense effort and the President may certify to it. It seems a good bet that the new board will approve all cost-of-living clauses, and may even accept annual automatic productivity increases. "Inequities" will be solicitously considered. In other words, wage control will be just as "soft" as price and profit controls are now.

In the fourth place, labor will be reassured in some way about manpower controls. The manpower set-up in the Labor Department which stresses voluntary action, and has been approved by many businessmen and all labor leaders, may possibly be shifted to ODM. In that event Mr. Wilson's man, Arthur S. Flemming, will share authority with Dr. Frank Graham, head of the Labor Department's manpower program. That ought to end labor's fear, real or simulated, of a dark plot to put over a manpower draft.

Finally, top mobilization officials have more than hinted that they intend to do something about food prices. On March 28, Stabilization Director Eric Johnston told a press conference: "You can't have farm prices continue to rise and have stabilization," which is the toughest talk farmers have heard from defense officials since the fighting started in Korea.

If this indicates that ODM is ready to fight Congress for major changes in the Defense Production Act, which expires on June 30, then the labor walkout has paid handsome dividends, indeed. In return for these concessions, however, labor leaders will have to shoulder all the burdens which go with membership on the team. If Congress balks and prices continue to rise, that may become for some of them a most hazardous and onerous responsibility.

Spain and the Americas

John LaFarge, S.J.

APRIL 14 OF THIS YEAR marks the twentieth anniversary of the founding of the Spanish Republic, following the abdication of King Alfonso XIII. A little more than five years later the Civil War broke out. Four months after the last Republican forces surrendered to General Francisco Franco, on September 1, 1939, the Nazis, by invading Poland, embroiled Spain's great European neighbors in World War II. Only recently, in the sixth year after VE Day, have the great nations of the West begun to bring an impoverished and ostracized Spain back into the family of the West.

THE TROUBLESOME QUADRANGLE

It is hardly necessary to recall at this point the post-war history of United States diplomacy towards Spain. Everyone knows that we trailed after the Soviet kite when the Kremlin sponsored the 1946 UN resolution asking all members to withdraw their heads of missions from "fascist" Madrid. By January of 1949, a little over two years ago, the world's ideological line-up had become much clearer to our confused State Department. We were ready to vote in favor of rescinding the 1946 resolution (AM. 2/4/50, p. 515). Last November 4 the UN's General Assembly, with U. S. support, finally lifted the diplomatic boycott. Meanwhile the Congress, over vigorous Administration protests, had voted a \$62.5 million loan to Spain. On December 27, 1950, less than two months after President Truman had defiantly declared that it would be a long, long time before he would send an Ambassador to Madrid, he appointed Stanton Griffis to that post. In mid-January General Franco appointed Don José Felix de Lequerica his Ambassador to Washington.

Members of Congress and many other leading figures in the United States, including Governor Dewey and Herbert Hoover, have done this country a great service by forcing the Administration to heal our breach with Spain. Spain, in turn, has shown something like eagerness to cooperate with the United States, and (it now seems) through the United States, with the North Atlantic pact nations in the defense of Western Europe. It is interesting to note that Turkey and Spain announced on December 31 that they would raise their respective Legations to the status of Embassies. Early this year the Netherlands, Denmark, Great Britain and even France agreed with Madrid on an exchange of Ambassadors. On February 13 we extended to Spain credits totaling \$12.2 million for purchases of cotton, fertilizer, tractors, equipment for a fertilizer plant. Three days later we granted a \$5-

The realities of the global conflict between imperialistic Marxism and democracy are bringing Spain and the Americas closer together. Discussing a recent and important book on Spain by a prominent American Catholic writer, Fr. LaFarge suggests how both Spain and the Americas can move towards a better, though critical, understanding of their respective cultures.

million loan to buy wheat. Secretary of State Acheson on February 17, asked bluntly whether Spain would contribute troops to NATO, could only say that U. S.-Spanish relations had entered "a new phase." Indeed they have—politically, economically, and (no doubt) militarily.

The mending of U. S.-Spanish relations, it is clear, will have a considerable influence on the relations of Spain with other Western European countries. Great Britain and France, on the one side and Spain, on the other, suffer from a deep incapacity to cooperate with each other. Great Britain and France, however, are both on very close terms with the United States. If we can continue to improve our relations with Spain we can do much to heal the wide breach between Spain and these European neighbors.

This brings us to the fourth unit in the "troublesome quadrangle"—our Latin-American neighbors. Just how successful the "Good Neighbor" policy has been is a debatable question. The recent Inter-American Conference which began in Washington on March 26 is added proof, if any were needed, that the United States and Latin America recognize that they must pull together. João Neves da Fontoura, Brazil's Foreign Minister, replied to President Truman's welcoming address by recalling what had already been accomplished. The Rio Pact of 1947, he said, and the Statute of the Nations of the Western Hemisphere, adopted at Bogotá in 1948,

embodied into the constitutional provisions of the Charter of the American States the various precepts established during over half a century of active Pan-Americanism. Consequently, there is no prior political question to be settled.

Whatever else can be said, and it is a lot, the Americas speak the same political language.

The frictions between the Americas is less political than cultural. The peoples of Latin America have derived their cultures—Spanish and Portuguese—from the Iberian Peninsula. Regardless of how they may view the political regime of General Franco in Spain, they cannot but feel a strong kinship with the rich and many-sided culture of their mother countries. From it they have received their language, their literature, their social institutions and their Catholic religion. They are very much annoyed when they find in the United States a profound and widespread misunderstanding of Spanish culture, just as we North Americans are very much annoyed when we find this country denounced by Latin Americans for "Yankee imperialism," American business painted as "preda-

tory capitalism," and the American way of life described as a gruesome brew of luxury-mad materialism, gangsterism and greed for wealth and power.

Latin Americans are particularly upset when they see that we "Yankees" have swallowed at face value the self-same anti-Spanish Communist and pro-Communist propaganda which has flooded their own press and politics. They resent, and rightly, the vestiges of the "Black Legend" still current among many anti-Communist liberals in the United States and other democracies. The Brazilians, though Portuguese in origin, share this resentment. Anything we can do to rid ourselves of typical Anglo-Saxon prejudices toward Spanish culture, therefore, will help to mitigate the frictions with Latin America.

"THIS IS SPAIN"

The urgency of a meeting of minds between the Spanish and non-Spanish cultural areas of Western civilization makes very opportune the appearance of Richard F. Pattee's *This Is Spain* (Bruce, 541p. \$7). Mr. Pattee, a native of Arizona, is a historian, American-educated, except for a year at the University of Louvain. He taught history at the University of Puerto Rico for eleven years, served with the State Department for two years and has since been with the National Catholic Welfare Conference as consultant on international affairs. He now makes his home in Fribourg, Switzerland.

Mr. Pattee, of course, has visited Spain. Although he relies on extensive published writings dealing with every side of Spanish history and culture, he adds many interesting personal observations of his own. He undertakes no apology for Franco; he merely assumes as an "elemental reality" that the Caudillo will continue to rule over the Spanish people. He places in various categories the opinions he has found among Spaniards concerning the possibility of an orderly transition from the present type of military dictatorship to what he is "personally convinced" must be a restoration of the monarchy.

In the author's opinion, the Spanish Republic . . . did not work, and there is no sign that it ever will work. Monarchy provides the armor of stability without which Spain is doomed to the convulsions which did it such harm during both republican experiments (p. 492).

Mr. Pattee recalls that the Republican leader Indalecio Prieto was himself appalled at what was happening in Spain during the months immediately preceding the Franco revolt:

We Spaniards have never seen so tragic a panorama or so great a collapse as Spain at this moment. Abroad, Spain is a country classified as insolvent. This is not the road to socialism or communism, but to a desperate anarchism without even the advantage of libertarianism. The country is on the verge of economic liquidation (p. 185).

Since the Western democracies have awakened to the real intentions and tyrannical methods of Soviet foreign policy, we can expect their publicists to revise

their estimates of the anti-Spanish policies which the Kremlin was able to push through in the United Nations from its founding in San Francisco in 1945 until fairly recently. In fact, it is becoming quite apparent in the United States that sensible people now see the "glamour" of the Abraham Lincoln brigade in its true colors, various hues of Red.

The exclusion of Spain from the San Francisco Conference and from membership in the United Nations and her later exclusion from participation even in the UN's specialized agencies are now beginning to be more widely viewed as measures of Soviet vindictiveness. The rescinding of the UN boycott last November has opened the door to Spanish participation in those specialized agencies to which Spain applies for membership, provided the nations represented in the agencies vote to accept her. Last November the Food and Agriculture Organization and the International Civil Aviation Organization both admitted Spain.

Dr. Pattee covers all this ground. In fact, after a brief synthesis of Spanish history and the social, geographic and religious background of the country, he traces out in detail the whole grim story of the past two decades. These include the proclamation of the Republic, the events that led up to the Nationalist revolt and Civil War, the Falange, the history of Spain during World War II and during its postwar period of UN-imposed isolation.

Mr. Pattee's insistence upon Spain's fundamental neutrality during the last war follows substantially the same lines as did former U. S. Ambassador Carlton J. H. Hayes in his *Wartime Mission in Spain*.

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

In regard to the postwar period, one of the most hopeful features of Spain's slow and uncertain recovery, as described by Pattee, is the rapid development of her social-welfare program. In 1939 the social-security service was reorganized. A family-allowance system was inaugurated, since extended. Maternity aid was expanded in 1942, with special attention to working women and workers' wives. In 1946 workers were protected against silicosis.

An important beginning has been made in the field of profit-sharing by workers in industrial enterprises. Social-minded Bishop Herrera, former editor of the great Catholic daily, *El Debate*, has stated that this improvement would "raise the mass of workers to the position of real factors in the industrial life of the country."

In regard to labor unions, the *Sindicato único*, or "single trade union," however, poses a number of serious difficulties. Mr. Pattee faces them:

In the first place, it destroys completely the idea of labor, government and management as three separate agencies and places them together within the same union. In the second place, State control becomes complete for all practical purposes . . . (p. 345).

He thinks the workers are skeptical and participate

in the unions, "not in the spirit of something that belongs to them, but as an obligatory arrangement out of which they can obtain a considerable benefit." He quotes Rev. Florentino Del Valle, S.J., as having written "in his excellent summary of the social program," *Las reformas sociales en España* (Madrid, 1946 and 1948): "Perhaps a more active worker participation in the functioning of the unions would win over more of them than is the case today." Pattee himself found "great resentment" among large sectors of Spanish workers against the unions.

The charge against them, he reports, is that they are "totalitarian," are "run from the top down," and form "a strait jacket within which a luxuriant bureaucracy" has grown up and now flourishes. "These criticisms," adds the author, "seem to me in many ways to be well founded." While he appreciates the refusal of Spanish authorities to let the "class struggle" reappear, he doubts whether the present *Sindicato único* achieves its purpose of reconciling the workers with other agents in the production process.

Moreover, despite progress in social legislation, social contrasts are distressing. "There is every evidence of luxury among the governing groups," he reports, and the black market is rampant. He does not mention the resounding and repeated protests made by the apostolic bishop of the Canary Islands, Msgr. Pildain, against black markets the Government itself operates. "Even though the severest critics of the regime," Pattee declares, "acknowledge that General Franco is himself totally incorruptible, they wish that those about him were sometimes less inclined to personal profiteering."

Although our author thinks the chief need in Spain is an increase in production, Pope Pius XII, in his March 11, 1951 broadcast to Spanish workers, laid stress on the maldistribution of wealth (AM. 3/31, p. 742). The general strike in Barcelona the very next day showed that workers are dissatisfied with the way the country's scarcity is being shared (AM. 4/7, p. 5).

Mr. Pattee uses extremely bitter language to condemn Spain's exclusion from the Marshall Plan. He blames the United States and calls our policy "the height of absolute illogic" (p. 486). He seems to be laboring under a misunderstanding of the specific purposes of the European Recovery Program and of the specific procedures set up to carry it out.

The *genius* of the Marshall Plan was that it offered U. S. aid to Europe provided the nations of Europe worked together on a program looking to their joint economic recovery within the period of 1948-52. We refused to deal with the nations one by one because we knew that Europe formed one economic society and could recover only as such. Sixteen countries united to accept our offer. They excluded Spain. True, we offered no opposition. The immediate purposes of the plan—to put Europe on its feet economically and politically, so as to obviate the danger of a breakdown of European economic society, with the consequent

danger of Communist accessions to power within the countries involved—did not require inclusion.

THE CHURCH IN SPAIN

With or without the help of the regime, the Church in Spain is doing a great deal for social betterment, spearheaded by the diocese of Málaga under Bishop Herrera. Outstanding is the "Apostolate in the Factories" of Father Azpiazu, S.J. and associates.

Along with the rapid growth of the social movement is an undeniably widespread religious revival. Churches are thronged. Hundreds of young men attend Mass and receive the sacraments. This upsurge is accompanied by a great cultural renaissance and a wide diffusion of popular instructional and apologetic literature. On the other hand as Mr. Pattee notes:

The critics claim that despite social legislation, the diffusion of Catholic doctrine and the work of Catholic Action, only the smallest segments of the working class have been converted. . . . There is reason for discouragement in the resistance of the industrial proletariat to the penetration of religious ideas, although obviously there are notable exceptions (p. 352).

Pattee contrasts Spain's "homeless and uprooted" urban masses with what he calls the "real Spain"—the religiously faithful peasants of Navarre, the Basque countries, Castile, Extremadura, Catalonia, the Levant and Andalucía (p. 77). This distinction will hardly hold water. If the city masses are not "real" Spaniards, what are they?

This attitude of Mr. Pattee's, reflecting one-half of Spain, seems to touch the heart of the problem: the impossibility of ever uniting the Spanish people internally, and *a fortiori* of ever breaking down the barriers between Spain and the rest of the world, so long as half the people do not even recognize the other half as belonging. Yet the nation was never more devoted to the ideal of national unity, as he himself says (p. 481). One wonders whether the resistance of the urban masses to the apostolate of the Church may not possibly be explained, at least in part, by the opposition of the working classes to the political regime which has identified the "real" Spain exclusively with itself and with the kind of Catholicism the regime stands for.

POLITICS OF HISPANIDAD

Catholic writers on Spain, especially those who are deeply impressed by her social-welfare legislation, practically never evaluate Spain's present political system in terms of Catholic political philosophy. This is an extremely dangerous omission. After all, Italian fascism, German National Socialism and even Soviet communism have been able to boast of their social-welfare programs.

Mr. Pattee considers the search for proper institutional forms in the field of politics the heart of the Spanish problem. The Falange's program is

. . . an odd combination of social reform, a passion for justice, heady nationalism, and the

"strenuous life" preached for another clime and people [the U. S.] by Theodore Roosevelt. . . . The Falange has always been to a large degree an artificial sort of thing, for its roots were not deep enough down in 1936 to grow of its own strength. . . . It was always a minority movement (p. 308).

In any case, being himself convinced (it seems) that Spain needs an authoritarian regime, being deeply attached to what he speaks of as Spain's "Christian heritage" and rather cynical about parliamentary democracy, Mr. Pattee deems democratic criticism of the Franco regime unworthy of detailed examination.

"We Americans prefer," he writes, "to prate about common democracy and common institutions, even when they do not exist, rather than place the emphasis on the common Christian heritage." It is one thing, of course, to object to the *abuse* of the term democracy, as exemplified in the "people's democracies" of Soviet satellite states. It is quite another to refer with contempt to that great achievement of Western civilization which Pope Pius XII himself described in his 1944 Christmas Message as, in some respects, best suited to the needs of our age.

What interests us most today is the possibility of restoring Spain to the comity of nations. This can only be done within the triangle of the United States-Spain-Latin America. *Hispanidad* (which might be translated the "international Spanish-culture movement"), says Pattee, creates a solidarity between the Iberian Peninsula and the Spanish and Portuguese nations of the New World. For Inter-American unity he has only ridicule. "The tendency to speak of an Inter-American unity between the United States and other American republics is more of a fiction than a fact." He reasons that a

spiritual and emotional kinship does not exist and at best can only be maintained by artificial stimulants. Between the United States and Hispanic America there are innumerable barriers of sentiment and a different set of values (p. 481).

With Spain, on the other hand, Latin America enjoys the "strong links of language, culture, religion," etc. He expressly denies that there are any basic values on which to build Inter-American unity, or any accord between the United States and Spain.

How can a writer live in Switzerland, which has achieved a marvelous political unity through the agreement of peoples of three different cultures and languages, and still take such a position?

What is rather alarming is that an eminent Catholic historian, whose writings are regarded by many fellow-Catholics as a sure guide in the field of Hispanic-American relations, should write off the possibility of *political* cooperation between nations of diverse national *cultures*. He is thereby writing off the leadership Popes Benedict XV and Pius XII have given to international political organization. He is writing off, too, the greatest political philosopher Spain ever produced—Francisco Suárez, S.J. If *Hispanidad* prevents close political cooperation between nations character-

ized by it and those which are not, there is something seriously wrong, from a Catholic point of view, with *Hispanidad*.

Hispanidad, explains Mr. Pattee, is a purely cultural, in no wise a political, movement. But one of its chief manifestations is the so-called *Día de la raza*, "Day of the [Spanish, or Iberian] Race," celebrated annually in Latin America, with political overtones.

TOWARDS A SOLUTION

A defender of Spain would do well, I think, first to disassociate genuine Spanish culture from all nationalistic, isolationist, U. S.-baiting demagoguery. Second, he ought to offer to the Hispanic world a carefully documented presentation of those elements in the political and cultural system of the United States which are world-wide in their application and are of permanent value. Our system of government has religious roots, as President Truman has time and time again declared. These are under attack, even at home. But if Mr. Pattee insists on distinguishing between the "real" and the "false" cultures in a country, he might try to present the "real" United States, the religious traditions of this country, to our Hispanic friends. In any case, he might explain to them why we have been able, under our political system, to surmount extreme crises through a period of 160 years, including a Civil War, and provide for the peace and prosperity of 150 million inhabitants. *Hispanidad* can boast of nothing comparable to this achievement.

All Americans have a heavy responsibility to correct the habits of "disdain and hostility" towards Spain and Spanish culture. Hispanic peoples, for their part, have a heavy responsibility to study the spiritual, moral and religious greatness of the United States.

Spain itself is torn in two, as Ramón Menéndez Pidal, Director of the Royal Spanish Academy, has pointed out in his essay on "The Two Spains" (*The Spaniards and Their History: An Analysis of Spain's National Characteristics*: London, Hollis & Carter, 1950, pp. 204-245). Part of its many-sided dualism is the tension between isolation-seclusion (on the ground that Spain has nothing to learn) and innovation-cosmopolitanism (based on the opposite view). Spain's dualism is rooted in its long history. Salvador de Madariaga in his *Spain* (1943) clearly recognized that both the "two great Anglo-Saxon Powers" and Spain had to overcome the barriers to closer cooperation. Emmet John Hughes's *Report From Spain* (1947) probes the faults on Spain's side in its foreign policy. From such books, including Mr. Pattee's, it is possible to get a fairly clear idea of the problem we face in trying to bring about on these shores a better understanding of Spanish culture and politics, and in trying to convey to Hispanic peoples a better understanding of ours.

Surely, at a time when the global issue has become so clearly one of religion versus atheistic materialism, believers throughout the world ought to come to an understanding.

Why "pay as we go"?

John F. Baumgartner

SINCE THE START of the mobilization program, practically every politician and editorial writer in the country has advocated paying the bill as we go. That is an encouraging reaction—except for one point. The proponents of "pay as we go" regularly assume that some alternative exists—a bad alternative possibly, but an alternative nevertheless.

Actually there is no alternative. Those who fight a war, or mount a defense effort, pay for it. It is physically impossible for them to pass along the cost to generations yet unborn.

A moment's reflection will show this.

Wars are fought with materials and manpower. Only these, effectively employed, dissuade or disable an enemy. To the number of dollars you muster against him he is indifferent. It is materials and manpower, therefore, productive resources, that must be sacrificed to the defense effort. That sacrifice is the cost of the war. The loss of what these resources might otherwise have contributed to civilian comfort and convenience is the "payment" the embattled populace makes, and must make. The bill cannot be deferred.

The failure to recognize this simple fact is fraught with danger. The people can pretend that life is otherwise. They can refuse to part with the dollars which correspond to the comforts which must be sacrificed, and the government can give in to them. In that event, one of two courses must be adopted.

NO INDEPENDENT GOVERNMENT INCOME

The government can ask the citizens to lend it the dollars for which no consumer goods are available. Now the word "lend," to be sure, has a far less terrifying sound than that of the grasping imperative, "give." But in this particular case, the actuality is much the same. Not that the government will not, in all likelihood, repay with interest, when due, the money the citizens lend. It will. The trouble is that when the time comes, it must ask them for the funds with which to repay them. The government has no independent income of its own. True, the citizen who has lent more than the average will receive back more than the average, but he will pay more than the average, too. The fact remains that the citizens, as a group, must repay themselves. It is apparent, then, that for the population as a whole this type of war finance offers no escape from, or postponement of, any part of the cost of the defense effort. And in any case the sale of bonds to individuals accounts for only a relatively small part of the funds needed to finance a war.

To continue our hypothesis, the government has taken from the people in "loans"—and also in taxes—

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as much as it dares. But it is not enough. It could take much more, and without affecting in the least the dimensions of the real sacrifice the people must make, but it will not. And yet more must be had. There is only one recourse remaining: the government must manufacture some new money.

This manufacturing of money is also called "borrowing," and must seem a wonderful solution indeed to the uninitiated taxpayer. It is not a wonderful solution at all. What actually happens is that in "borrowing" from the banks, the government has simply ordered the creation of money which otherwise would not have existed. In a very literal sense this is *fiat* money: it exists and circulates at government command. But the significant thing is that it is *new* money, an addition to the total supply. The citizen who has escaped the horrors of rigorous taxes will soon find himself confronted, across the butcher's counter, in the department stores, and in his landlord's guise, with another grinning monster: inflation. The "solution" was a mirage. The citizen pays in high prices what he would otherwise have paid in taxes.

NEW IDEA: PRICE CONTROL

One desperate hope remains. As prices mount, as citizens begin to grumble and politicians to perspire, a new idea is born: price control. If you don't want prices to rise, just order them to halt. Very well. But is the problem solved? Have we really succeeded, at last, in easing the burden of the war for the taxpayer?

It may seem so. The people have money left that might have been taxed away. When, at the influx of the new money, prices began to rise, we checked them by law. True, a few black markets appear, there are bulges in the price line here and there, and a few upward "adjustments" are made. By and large the line, however, is held. We have avoided both high taxes and high prices. The problem appears to be solved.

But there is one other fact, and it is the one which finally defeats us—the one we can't escape. A large part of the labor force has been drained away into the military forces; a large part of the remainder, using a large share of the raw materials and the capital plant of the country, is devoted to the production of goods that will be dumped in oceans and destroyed on distant continents. Civilian goods are scarce. We have lots of money, because the government has been gentle; prices are not exorbitant, because the government has been solicitous; *but the things we would like to buy, at prices which are not exorbitant, with the money that has not been taxed away, are just not there.* It is too bad, but there we are: face to face with the facts of life. The magic has failed again. There is nothing for it now but to face the facts, ration what we have, tighten our belts, work hard and do without: we have to pay for the war. And we have to pay "as we go."

Granted that payment has to be concurrent with the war or defense effort, is it not still to the advantage of the taxpayer to pretend otherwise? A fiscal policy

compounded of soft taxes and heavy bank borrowing leaves him with unprecedented savings for postwar spending.

If the question is an honest one, it means, is not an easy fiscal policy to the advantage of the people *as a whole*?

But how can it be? Is it assumed that after the war—or the emergency—when price controls and rationing are gone, the large savings of the people will permit them to buy and enjoy more of the comforts of life than would otherwise have been possible? To assume that is to imagine that what the people, collectively, can consume is determined by the amount of money they collectively hold, rather than by what they are able, collectively, to produce. At no time, either during the war or after, can they enjoy more of the commodities of civilian life than they are free or able to produce. The great backlog of wartime savings will not create goods in the postwar world; it will create only inflation. This statement needs no proof, not for the American people certainly. During the past five years they have experienced its truth in a way they are not likely soon to forget.

There is an important observation, however, that must be added. We have seen that there is no legerdemain whereby a people as a whole can escape paying concurrently and in full for any great and costly national undertaking. But the fiscal method employed by the government to finance the enterprise will make a great deal of difference in the final apportionment of the burden among the citizens.

DISTRIBUTING THE BURDEN

In so far as taxes are relied on, they can be imposed as desired, and the cost of the enterprise apportioned immediately, consciously and deliberately, in conformity with whatever criteria of justice prevail. But in so far as deficit finance, with heavy borrowing from the banks, is the policy, it is clear that, although the total cost of the emergency is borne while the emergency exists, the final distribution of the burden among the different classes of citizens is deferred until the emergency has passed. Then the method of apportionment is inflation.

This method, unlike that of taxation, which is precise and controllable, is capricious and wanton. For we must remember that although incomes and savings were greatly inflated during the emergency period of budgetary deficits and price control, not all incomes and savings accounts were equally inflated. What happens, in such periods, to the incomes of soldiers, teachers, pensioners and the rest, can hardly be compared with what happens to the incomes of munitions contractors and defense workers. Not all are equally prepared, therefore, to face the ravages of the price inflation released when the war is ended. Similarly, as

that inflation proceeds, some are much better situated than others to secure concurrent and at least partially compensating advances in their incomes. The advantage again is generally with the same categories of income receivers as before.

Such is the manner in which we financed the last war, and finally apportioned its cost. Will we do it again? Must we repeat and perpetuate such financial irresponsibility throughout the indefinite future of the national emergency? If no fiscal con-tortions permit us to side-step or postpone the hardships, what reasons can there be for not insisting on a forth-right policy of taxation without deficits? In no other way can we distribute the sacrifices fairly among ourselves, and maintain the value of our currency.

The Administration has indeed stated its determination to proceed in this fashion. But in fiscal matters the Administration proposes and Congress disposes. There are disturbing indications that Congress as a whole, like much of the public, is not yet prepared to face this issue realistically.

CONGRESS AND FISCAL POLICY

There is, of course, a great amount of congressional criticism of the budget for fiscal 1952. This was to be expected of a Congress that does not share the Administration's enthusiasm for various spending projects not immediately connected with national defense. No one can argue with the right of Congress to differ with the Administration on such issues; and no doubt some proposed expenditures for nondefense purposes can be pared down or eliminated. But the 1952 budget contemplates expenditures which exceed estimated revenues from taxes at current rates by some \$16 billion. Naturally nothing approximating such a sum can be eliminated from a budget so heavily weighted with fixed obligations (interest on the debt and veterans' benefits, chiefly) and with defense items which nobody wants to reduce. Senator Byrd and those who follow him in talking about reductions totaling \$8 to \$9 billion are, to put it bluntly, indulging in pipe dreams. Closer to what is possible is Senator Douglas' estimate of \$3 or \$4 billion, and it remains to be seen whether even that much will be cut. In matters of economy there is a big difference between Congressional talk and Congressional action.

What is most disturbing is the suggestion lurking beneath much of the angry comment in Congress, that no such sum as \$16 billion, or anything like it, is going to be voted in increased taxes, regardless of how far it proves possible to pare the budget down.

One is not even confident that the inevitability of the relationship between budgetary deficits and inflation is clearly recognized by some who are loudest in their denunciation of inflation. One recalls that a



prominent member of the Senate could argue, a few years ago, for *reduced* taxes as *anti-inflationary*, without incurring the general reputation of an economic illiterate. Recently the chief of the Washington bureau of one of our great metropolitan newspapers (Detroit *Free Press*, January 28) reported that "Government economists have a theory that high taxes are anti-inflationary. . . ." This is like referring to a "theory" that air is good stuff to breathe.

Perhaps behind all the indications of resistance, resentment and recalcitrance in the face of their unpleasant duty to raise taxes lies a lack of conviction in the minds of some members of the Congress as to the real significance of a continual inflation. I have already suggested one of its most deplorable results. If we really mean to exact of school teachers and pensioners a far greater material sacrifice than we wish to require of the owners of businesses, or of stockholders, or of organized workers, would it not be more honest to say so, and adjust our tax schedules accordingly?

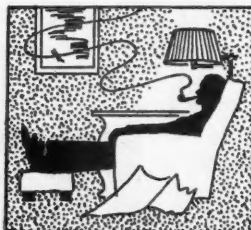
There is an even darker aspect to a policy of continual inflation. It is suggested by the statement that inflation *always* profits debtors at the expense of creditors. A person of liberal inclinations might not be horrified at such a prospect—until he remembers certain facts. In the matter of life insurance, for example, the insurance company is the debtor, and the insured, or his beneficiary, the creditor. Can any man say, these days, what constitutes a reasonable provision for his wife and children—dollars they will receive ten, or twenty or thirty years from now? Putting money in the bank for the children's education, or one's old age, or illness, or any future contingency is already beginning to have its obviously foolish aspects.

A little slow, very gradual inflation might be supportable—even, for reasons which I shall not enter upon here, desirable. But can we, during the next decade, or two, or three, afford a continued inflation of the magnitude we have witnessed over the past decade? What effect must any such persistent assault on the value of the dollar have on the healthy instinct of the individual to plan his own life, to be at least partly responsible for his own affairs? The very blocks with which he builds his fortress against time, age and sickness dissolve away like sand. The result, I fear, can only be, in the long run, to accelerate the movement of the people from a position of personal responsibility to an ever greater dependence upon the state.

Looking Ahead

Next week we have prepared what we hope will be an especially interesting number. Leonard Schweitzer has sent us a challenging article on Spain which is certain to stimulate comment. Then there will be a discussion of the Army's religious program by one who is really in a position to know—Major General Roy H. Parker, Chief of Army Chaplains. And Fr. Masse will have a word or two to say about the fight over fast amortization. The Editor.

FEATURE "X"



Fr. Hartnett here presents a few observations on the 48th annual meeting of the National Catholic Educational Association, held in Cleveland, Ohio, during Easter Week.

CATHOLIC EDUCATORS pretty well took over the city of Cleveland during Easter Week. Total registration at the 48th annual meeting of the National Catholic Educational Association was soaring towards seven thousand when I left on Wednesday night. Excerpts from the addresses of Bishop Hoban, Msgr. Hochwalt (NCEA Executive Secretary), other prominent clerics, Clare Boothe Luce, Congressman Eugene McCarthy and Attorney General McGrath received prominent publicity in the daily press. Let me capsule my own impressions.

The personnel consisted, of course, almost wholly of nuns, priests and brothers. They are the top *administrators* in Catholic education. I'm sure they all benefit greatly by meeting co-workers from all over the country and by listening and perhaps participating (though not sufficiently) in the discussions. Travel itself is educative.

Still, I think we ought to get more lay people, especially a sprinkling of parents, to attend. We all talk and write a great deal—I know I do—about parental rights in education. But we really have a long way to go before we can say that we ourselves are fully respecting the rights of parents in Catholic education. I'd like to see a parents' *department* set up in NCEA, just to make sure they come and are on the program. I'll bet hundreds of nuns, priests and brothers would love to hear what parents have to say about the work we are doing under the authority the Church and parents delegate to us.

"Human Rights and Education," the theme of the meeting, set everyone thinking. There is no doubt about it: even religious persons have a much better appreciation today of the intrinsic dignity of every individual human personality than they did twenty-five years ago. Lenin, Stalin, Mussolini and Hitler have taught us something by their tyranny. Catholic philosophy and theology today center far more attention on personality than they used to. Not being a delegate, I didn't hear any papers or formal discussions outside of the meeting I addressed. But the whole atmosphere seemed charged with respect for human rights.

Whether racial discrimination was fully aired, I don't know. I'm afraid I forgot to say what I intended to say on this subject myself. I departed from my paper

towards the end and got all worked up over the urgent need of civic cooperation. (Our schools may, in a certain sense, be "segregated." But if we allow ourselves to be *isolated*, it will be our own fault, and we will pay heavily for it.)

The first "All-Jesuit Alumni Dinner" was held March 27 at the Carter Hotel (and a fine hotel it is, by the way). The dinner was a smashing success, though I suppose a non-Jesuit might be a more objective judge. A capacity crowd of 800, seated at tables reserved for alumni and alumnae of various Jesuit schools, enjoyed meeting fellow-alumni, often for the first time. John Carroll University, acting as host, did a handsome job. The Jesuit Education Association has done a great deal to knit the Jesuit institutions in a national unity. Their "ads" in America have helped, too.

This innovation is sure to become a permanent part of future NCEA meetings. In fact, it should be initiated in all large cities forthwith. I believe Villanova also had an alumni dinner. Why could not other teaching groups arrange similar gatherings? For one thing, they bring the laity into the fold.

His Excellency, Bishop Hoban, himself a Jesuit alumnus, graciously attended the dinner and gave one of his usual fluent, direct and kindly talks. Rev. Frederick E. Welfle, S.J., President of John Carroll (which impressed all Jesuit visitors by its beautiful campus and progressive spirit), J. Harold Traverse (J.C. Alumni President, and toastmaster), and Joseph Sullivan (Administrative Assistant to Mayor Burke, who was ill but found an ideal fellow Jesuit alumnus to "sub" for him) all handled their speaking roles neatly.

My only suggestion—and if I didn't have a suggestion or two, how could I earn my way as a journalist?—is that Jesuit higher education, in essentials, is very much like all Catholic higher education. The speakers somewhat overlooked this truth. Only one of them stressed anything specifically Jesuit in education. He was the only one, too, to single out the specifically *supernatural* side of Jesuit education.

New York Police Commissioner Thomas F. Murphy, a Jesuit high-school, college and law-school product, gave the principal address. After paying the expected tribute, he rather crossed up his mentors by launching into a criticism of his Alma Mater for not teaching him more history. Like nearly everyone else, I really enjoyed his talk. My own impression was 1) that Mr. Murphy had not consulted recent catalogues of the college he criticized; 2) that in expecting a college to teach *all* students the full panorama of world (or at least Western) history, including American, his expectations verged on the impossible; and 3) that any college which produces an alumnus sufficiently wide-awake intellectually to do as much reading in history *after* graduation as has Mr. Murphy must have done something to awaken his curiosity.

(The contest for a permanent name for "Feature X" will be decided after Fr. Hartnett's return from the West Coast. If unchanged, the first reader who suggested retaining "Feature X" wins. Ed.)

My own feeling is that every liberal-arts student should be required, whether through courses or special reading assignments, to show some knowledge of the *turning points* in the history of at least the Western world, and of American history. No student should be graduated who cannot give you a sensible five-hundred-word account of the Protestant Reformation, the French Revolution, the American Revolution, the Industrial Revolution, and so forth.

But, frankly, I do not think that a mere knowledge of *what happened*, assuming that a student gets that much, is any guarantee of his using history as a guide to good citizenship or even intelligent judgment in his own reading. Some teachers of history can make it meaningful; some cannot. Some understand Catholic political and social theory; some do not. History is a bit like Holy Writ: the devil can quote it to his purpose. *Properly taught*, history is one of the best instruments of education available. And I do think that, no matter what field a college student specializes in, whether it be the physical or social sciences, or literature or philosophy, he ought to take some courses that immerse him in the history of his subject.

The trouble with college education today, or at least *one* of its many troubles, is that the fields of learning have expanded to a point where it is simply impossible to get even a "gentleman's knowledge" of them all. Somewhere we must stop being superficial and plunge students into the heart of whatever they do study. We must keep adjusting curricula. Msgr. Sheen suggested in Cleveland that we revise our philosophy courses and teach something about the great thinkers of the Orient. I would agree. Moreover, we should teach something about the history of the Orient. Above all, we must teach students how to study social and other problems, put them on the road to an ever-deepening knowledge.

It's the old story: to whatever extent the Commissioner's criticism was valid, it was a credit to the college that trained the man who could make it. I'm not worried too much about what students don't learn in college. I'm worried about what they never learn and never show any interest in learning. As Woodrow Wilson said, you can't turn a boy into a learned man in four years. That takes a lifetime. But if *commencement* means the *end* of learning, the jig is up. I'd just as soon rate a college on what its graduates learn every five years after they are out of school.

To my mind, the great advantage of these conventions lies in the people you meet and talk to. For example, I met Rev. Edward A. McDermott, O.P., of Providence College in the club car leaving Grand Central. I discovered a great deal I didn't know about the way the Dominicans prepare their candidates *before* they admit them to the novitiate. They give them, almost always, a full college education. This is the slickest way I know of to solve the problem of grounding seminarians in the physical and social sciences, and in literature and history, without overloading their seminary curricula.

ROBERT C. HARTNETT, S.J.

The American novel through fifty years

III. Ellen Glasgow

N. Elizabeth Monroe

Though passed over in silence by many present-day critics, Ellen Glasgow will always enjoy a secure place in American letters. Her historical novels represent the fictional equivalents of major historical and social movements in Virginia from 1850 to 1912; her comedies of manners and her more serious works create a number of memorable characters, apply a delicate craftsmanship to the American scene as it was being drawn in Virginia during the early part of the twentieth century, and delineate manners with unerring rightness and vision. Her art is formal in the extreme, and her skill with descriptive prose, which gives the effect of narrative and captures incidents which reveal and define character, might well be envied by greater novelists.

Then why the neglect? Her death on November 22, 1945, was followed by no important critical evaluation and today there is no sign of a literary revival or of the banding together of devotees determined to read all of her works as the Trollopians have done with their idol. Michael Sadleir's introduction to Trollope's *Autobiography*, which was first published in 1883, explains why he was neglected in the years immediately following his death, and these same reasons may be applied to Miss Glasgow. Sadleir says that Trollope's name was on too many title-pages; he chose to be known as a gentleman rather than a man of letters; his autobiography had too much horse-sense to be relished by any literary cult.

Miss Glasgow follows the same pattern. In *A Certain Measure*, published in 1938, explains her technique and the inception of her stories. Though it is a book no one concerned with the technique of the novel can afford to miss, it is too simple and unmannered to catch the attention of critics who live by discovering something new and striking every day. She knew that no small voice can expect to be heard in America, certainly not for a long period of time, but continued to practise her exacting art for almost forty years in serene disregard of that knowledge. She thinks that to move freely in an imagined universe is success whether that success be recognized or not. She never went out deliberately to observe a scene or way of life and never invented one out of the whole cloth, but waited for her observation of life to sift itself down in her imagination before beginning to write. She never wrote the first line of a story without knowing what the last line was to be, and though her characters came to her complete with names and habitations supplied, they were allowed to grow and develop with their author before she sent them out to live in the world.

Dorinda Oakley, for instance, had been in her mind

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ten years before she began to write *Barren Ground*, and even then was given room to grow and change. Miss Glasgow worked hard over her stories, always preparing three drafts, except with her last novel, and never beginning until she had distinguished the point of view or points of view from which the narrative was to be told. As with Trollope, there is no literary patter here, merely an honest appraisal of her art. Like Trollope, too, she has written to much to be sorted out by the run-of-the-mill reader, and, as Cabell points out in his *Ellen Glasgow, an Inscribed Portrait*, there was always much of the *grande dame* about her, a fault not easy to live down.

The fact of the matter is that anyone who elects to write about the *haut monde* in America has a bad time of it from the start. There has been no social tradition inclusive enough with us to be accepted as a matter of course in literature or in life. We are in too much of a hurry to get things done to bother with manners, customs, codes of any sort, and though morals have not been completely abandoned, they have been so far removed from the scene of action that they are likely to appear merely quaint to the bright young people who write our novels.

All this constitutes a great loss to the novel to which manners, customs, codes and traditions are the very stuff of life. It is true that Ellen Glasgow was born into a relatively stable social tradition, but she was given no encouragement from the general public, which knew little and cared less about the chivalric tradition. This kind of work is tolerated by the critics only when a novelist takes the big stick to his characters, and this Ellen Glasgow was unwilling to do. She sees to the core the vanities and pretensions of the world she describes, its apathy and disenchantment, its evasiveness and disorientation, and yet is unwilling to condemn it outright. The intention of such an art is to discover character not only to the reader but to the characters themselves, and here an urbane and ironical treatment is invaluable. As a result we have a whole assemblage of people who have lost their way in the world, but who are not without some of the dignity proper to man.

Miss Glasgow knows, for instance, that Judge Gamaliel Bland Honeywell (*The Romantic Comedians*, 1926) is something of a pious fraud, yet she allows him his hour of bliss, then dismisses him from the

scene with the dignity a Virginia gentleman deserves. He is not taken directly from life; he is rather a stylized version of life, and placed in the perfect setting his illusions call for. Miss Glasgow says that from the time life pushed Judge Honeywell into her mind, his biography bubbled over with an effortless joy and that this novel is one of those happy marriages of form and idea which could not have been different.

Mr. Virginius Curle Littlepage (*They Stooped to Folly*, 1929) is still less a figure of fun, though he has amusing moments—hadn't he contemplated infidelity over the better part of a lifetime, only to become the victim of his own good habits? Every now and then his creator prods him, but never harshly and, though she laughs at his antics, she never lets him lose face with the reader. When he analyzes the causes of his disenchantment he speaks for a whole generation of men who, unable to find a center either within or without themselves, give themselves up to a futile day-dream of what might have been. Why is it, he asks himself, that a man who has risen to the top of his profession and had the influence of a good woman—why, at fifty-seven, should he feel that he has never had anything he wanted? The war, perhaps?—and he concludes: "The worst thing is this sense of having lost our way in the universe. The worst thing is that the war has made peace seem so futile." Only a limited self-knowledge is open to men like Mr. Littlepage, but there are moments when they see the cause of their malaise, if not its cure.

The Sheltered Life (1932) slips a sharp rapier into the cult of devotion to beauty. Miss Glasgow knew intuitively that in this novel the points of view must determine the form, and so the romantic legend is viewed by an old man whose futile life is behind him and by a young girl who, in throwing herself at her friend's husband, says in essence: "I didn't mean anything. I only wanted to be happy." The story that flows between these two points of view is too slight to be told in straight narrative; besides, the real subject is what happens in the minds of the two observers. Miss Glasgow says that the old man is the center of the book and that she has put into his reverie much of her own ultimate feeling about life, but even though his reveries are rich and varied, he himself is not representative enough to be civilized man still standing when the world breaks up around him.

Miss Glasgow is at her best in the delineation of manners, a task for which she was prepared by birth, temperament and experience. She lived in a society that liked ideas, liked pleasure, and still, in spite of the inroads of modernism, practised a becoming decorum in all things. Thus her medium was ready at hand. The comedy of manners requires precise observation of manners, a sense of form, a detached point of view, wit and charm, the ability to make little things interesting and, above all, a civilized society. It requires also the ability to see beneath and beyond details to what Miss Glasgow calls the eternal verities.

The comic spirit breathes through all her works. She

is never heavy-handed or tedious, never didactic, never exaggerated. Concerned with a society in search of happiness, yet with no plan or chart to guide it, furnished only with a code of manners divorced from its religious and moral bases and almost without social meaning, she sees that she must treat her characters with ironical deference. Even though leading a tranced existence, they are so clear that they seem to be suspended in crystal. They never act except in conformity with other people's ideals or with the exactions of an inherited code. In fact, reverie has taken the place of action, yet, every now and then, these reveries flower in beauty—for a moment the character seems about to discover the clue to his own identity, but only for a moment; then the lights are dimmed and twilight closes in on his universe again.

There is bound to be a certain monotony in the descriptive and ironical method Miss Glasgow uses. There are too many frustrated people, too many despairing moods, too many gallant poses. Miss Glasgow is not responsible for the malaise that afflicts her characters, but she might have broadened her subject and given here and there a positive quality to her treatment. That is to say, her elegiac note could have been fuller, richer, more varied, while still remaining true to itself. Miss Glasgow has other limitations that cramp her characters. While it is not the novelist's duty to solve the problems he sets for his characters, there ought to be nothing in his point of view that gets in the way of their being solved. There is every reason to believe that Miss Glasgow saw no way to escape futility except through courage, gallantry and integrity.

These are great qualities, but not great enough to redeem an age from futility. Surely there must have been someone in the society she represents who saw that natural values will not remain at the human level without the support of supernatural values. Some of her characters, besides Grandmother Fincastle and Aunt Meggie (*In This Our Life*, 1941), must have tried to apply Christian principles to their lives, if not to the world about them. Instead, religion is always treated skeptically and ironically, as though the novelist herself saw religion only as part of an outworn code.

Ellen Glasgow's comedies of manners have been compared with Tchekov's *The Cherry Orchard*, but they are alike only in that they both celebrate the death of an age. Tchekov's characters are futile, too, but their reveries are rich and varied, outlined now with nostalgic longing for an age which is slipping away, again with love and tenderness and compassion, with vision and faith and a sense of the mystery that lies all about them. They can or will do nothing about their fate, but they have known love and happiness in the past, so that the young daughter can say: "The cherry orchard is sold, it is gone, that's true, that's true! But don't weep, mamma! Life is still before you, you have still your good, pure heart." That note of love, of affirmation is never sounded in Ellen Glasgow.

Of course no one would compare Ellen Glasgow

and Henry James as to style, scope and adequacy of their conceptions, or imaginative consistency, but as an historian of manners, Miss Glasgow is certainly superior to James. She was closer to the world around her, more sensitive to people, and much less concerned with self than James. Her mother's people belonged to the Tidewater aristocracy, her father's to the band of hardy Scotch Presbyterians who settled the upper reaches of the James. When she was born April 22, 1874, in Richmond, Virginia, Federal troops still occupied parts of the South. It was an age of vivid contrasts that stretched out before her. When she began to write in 1897, the bitterness of the Reconstruction had worn off and a new and vigorous civilization was being built over the ruins of the old. When she died on November 22, 1945, she had lived long enough to witness the death of this new civilization.

While all of Miss Glasgow's novels may be classified as historical, it seems useful to break them down into the early group, *The Voice of the People* (1900), *The Battle-Ground* (1902), *The Deliverance* (1904), *The Romance of a Plain Man* (1909), *Virginia* (1913), *Life and Gabriella* (1916), all of which have definite historical backgrounds, covering the period from 1850 to 1912, and which portray the bitter aftermath of the Civil War and the Reconstruction, the rise of railroads and industry, the development of democratic principles, and the gradual merging of the problems of the South with national and international problems. Then follow the three comedies of manners which I have discussed, *The Romantic Comedians*, *They Stooped to Folly* and *The Sheltered Life*, in which manners are treated as the fruit of history. Finally come *Barren Ground* (1925), *Vein of Iron* (1936) and *In This Our Life* (1941), in which Miss Glasgow varies her descriptive method, creates character in the round instead of rolling it out flat, and broadens her theme. These are not novels of situation, but are more dramatic than her earlier works, and the separate incidents bear a casual relationship one to the other. In her comedies of manners she succeeds in objectifying many of her own moods; the organization of material in these works makes such a task unnecessary.

This is especially true in *Barren Ground*, where nothing is allowed to come into the story except what the heroine might have experienced. Miss Glasgow says that this novel, which she considers her greatest work, became for her almost a vehicle of liberation and that everything she had written before, except *Virginia*, seemed by comparison thin. She is her own best critic here. She wrote so well and had so much to write about that she might have gone on for a long time as a competent novelist with a distinguished style, had it not been for this new impulse of creativity. With the writing of *Barren Ground* she was free to ask searching questions about the life she had been observing from childhood on and to create characters who are not passive before experience, but who now and then take a hand in their own destiny.

Barren Ground is the story of a woman who transcends all the bitter reversals of life through hard work and an enduring spirit. She belongs to the race of the undefeated and would have been a great character wherever the author might have placed her; in this story she is given the perfect setting for her courage and power to endure. A note of triumph sounds through the beautiful but austere narrative, which is remarkable for its close unity of theme, mood, character and place. Miss Glasgow has used structure to interpret story in this novel—a bare third of the narrative is given to the love story, the rest to Dorinda's triumph. The use of time is particularly subtle—it passes before us not as a chronicle, but in the changing seasons and as it affects Dorinda's character and as she wrings her victory from the reluctant hours. In this novel the means are so consonant with the end that even the smallest detail cannot be dropped out; they all go together to tell the story of Dorinda.

In the *Vein of Iron* and *In This Our Life* Ellen Glasgow broadens her theme still further. What happens to man when all the props are taken away; what happens when he stands face to face with his ultimate fate? Is it the "vein of iron" that keeps him upright—or an inexhaustible instinct for survival—or individual integrity? These questions are all the more poignant inasmuch as the author appears to be seeking the answer for herself as well as for her characters, and whether the answers are satisfying or not, they are germane to the character himself and to his story. As John Fincastle (*Vein of Iron*) moves away from the breadline in the depression following the First World War, he says there is one thing that can never be taken away from him—fortitude. Then he ponders:

There is an understanding deeper than words, deeper than sound . . . below consciousness. Time had renounced him. He was a shell, or less than a shell, washed up and left by the tide. Yet the tide had ebbed and flowed over him, and he remained himself; he had endured; he was alone.

In both these novels Miss Glasgow makes style, structure, even language work for her in interpreting the theme. In the first chapters of *Vein of Iron* she distinguishes five different points of view through the prose cadences and the use of dissonant and harmonious sounds in the recollections of her characters, but while the experiment is successful, it keeps the story from getting under way. In *This Our Life* she uses language and recurrent images much more subtly to show the illusory nature of experience and the insubstantial nature of a world that has lost its moorings. All the characters in this book are searching for happiness, but whether they approach it obliquely or head-on, they find it slipping through their fingers at the very moment certitude seemed to be theirs. All this is symbolized for us in the flight of pigeons, shimmering pools of water, invisible wings in the October sunlight, billowing waves of asters, golden-rod and life-everlasting, and blurring horizons. A writer with so much to say and so conscious of the means of saying it need not worry about neglect.

Immediate failure, ultimate success

**NEWMAN'S UNIVERSITY:
Idea and Reality**

By Fergal McGrath, S.J. Longmans, Green. 537p. \$7.

Twenty years ago Professor Timothy Corcoran, S.J., Professor of Education, University College, Dublin, was an influence in Ireland to be reckoned with. The reorganization of the secondary educational system was largely his achievement, and his courses at University College for the Higher Diploma in education attracted each year hundreds of prospective teachers.

One of his favorite courses was on Cardinal Newman's *Idea of a University*, and he was, frankly, a "heretic" as to Newman. His two chief articles of unbelief were that Newman, by making his own the current Oxford philosophy of liberal education, had sharply cut himself off from the traditional doctrine of Christian Europe, and that moreover he attempted to establish in the *Idea* a "Philosophy of Severance" of the intellectual from the moral elements in the one process which is called education.

It must be said to Father Corcoran's credit that, far from forcing his views on his students, he encouraged and challenged debate and differences. He was wont even to boast that he doubted whether more than three per cent of his audiences ever agreed with as much as two per cent of his beliefs about Newman. And now Father Fergal McGrath has amply demonstrated in his magnificently scholarly book that even the three per cent were in error.

In a brief review it is only possible to suggest the breadth and depth of Father McGrath's fine achievement. The objective he set himself is concisely and accurately stated in the subtitle: he is dealing with Newman's university in both its *idea* and its *reality*.

Two good-sized chapters of background history show why the Irish hierarchy was led to undertake the founding of a Catholic university. The point is emphasized that the necessity of a Catholic university in Ireland existed objectively: five million people could not remain in receipt of the intellectual out-door relief which other colleges afforded them. In successive chapters Father McGrath develops, with richness of detail and illustration, the first steps in the founding of the university; Newman's inaugural *Discourses on the Scope and Nature of University Education*, which later was republished as the *Idea of a University Defined and Illustrated*; the scores of difficulties, dissensions and local and national circumstances which Newman had to face.

Father McGrath's Chapter XI, "The Soul of Education," is a brilliant and satisfying attempt to reconcile the views on Catholic education expressed in Pius IX's Brief on the new Catholic university and Newman's educational position as stated in the *Discourses* and elsewhere. It is of first importance, Father McGrath remarks, "that the full expression of Newman's views must be sought not only in the *Idea of a University*, but in his other writings, and in his practical exposition in Dublin of education as an art." And he explains why:

The *Idea* is a masterly exposition of a fundamental truth, but it is not a compendium of educational teaching, and the casual nature of its allusions to various consequences of that truth must not be taken as a criterion of their relative importance . . . the stress laid in the *Idea* on the nature and value of mental culture has to be corrected by a survey of Newman's practical approach to the vocational aspect of education. So, with regard to the intellectual and moral issues, those who know Newman only from the *Idea* may be misled into reading into his insistence on the mental distinction between those issues a belief in a real distinction which his other writings and his life-work put completely out of count.

In several ways the most interesting chapters for the modern educator are those (Chapters XIII, XIV and XV) which present Newman as university Rector, as the administrator.

Newman's university venture was in appearance a failure. He resigned from the Rectorship on November 12, 1858, seven years to a day from the date of his appointment. And he did fail "immediately," as Father McGrath points out, but "there was an ultimate success to come as the fruit of his labors." "The main purpose of this book," he continues,

has been to show that in the Catholic University as he planned, organized and launched it, in spite of its poverty, its inchoateness, its pitifully small numbers, and the regrettable mistakes and misunderstandings that hampered its progress, Newman left in Ireland a living exemplar of the noble idea which he had sketched in immortal prose, the idea of a university courageously treading every field of knowledge, and valuing that knowledge not merely as the revelation of the wealth of the universe, not merely as the revelation of the deepest thoughts and loftiest aspirations of the human mind, but most of all as the revelation of that which gives it all its value and meaning, the ultimate Truth and Good.

This reviewer has read no book on Newman so scholarly, stimulating and satisfying. The price is high; so is the value received. ALLAN P. FARRELL

BOOKS


What followed the Czars

**THE BOLSHEVIK REVOLUTION—
1917-1923**

By Edward Hallett Carr. Macmillan. 430p. \$5.

At the outset let it be said that Mr. Carr, one of the world's outstanding authorities on Soviet Russia and the Russian revolutionary movements of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, has written what promises to be the most exhaustive analysis of the Bolshevik Revolution available in English. The phrase "what promises to be" must be used for qualification because this is merely the first of a multi-volume work. It will take two more volumes to cover the first six years of the Bolshevik regime and Mr. Carr plans to keep on going after that until he has brought the history of Soviet Russia up to date.

Having paid tribute to Mr. Carr's scholarship and industry, the reviewer may be excused for complaining that this work reveals too great a dependence on official Russian sources and



TREATISE ON PREACHING

By Humbert of Romans

A fundamental book on preaching written by Humbert of Romans, the fifth Master General of the order of Friars Preachers. It is concerned with basic principles and even though it was written in the thirteenth century, it is timely and applicable today. Humbert treats the main aspects of preaching and displays a happy capacity for combining general principles with minute details. The general tone is lofty with a wealth of quotations from Scripture and the Fathers and the whole is studded with excellent practical suggestions.

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Catholic Publishers
Westminster, Maryland

too much between-the-lines admiration of Lenin. By official Russian sources is meant *ad hoc* documentary material produced by the historian-hacks of the Stalin regime. The original Russian sources are of course invaluable for a history of the Revolution but too often they have been worked over and made to conform to Stalin's wishful thinking on the early days of communism and the role he himself played in overthrowing the Kerensky Government.

Mr. Carr says in his preface that "a history of the Russian Revolution written by an Englishman who has neither a Marxist nor a Russian back-

ground may seem a particularly hazardous enterprise." That is not so. Such a person seems, given the historical ability and knowledge of the Russian language which Mr. Carr obviously has, better equipped to do the job than an unable-to-see-objectively Marxist. The trouble with Mr. Carr's book, however, is that on many pages the text seems to contradict the preface and the reader finds himself wondering whether the disclaimer of Marxism is correct.

It is not pleasant to say these things about a book which in other respects is as good as this one. Mr. Carr has synthesized the early history of Bol-

shevism and the events of 1917 in extraordinarily capable fashion. This period is a difficult field for the unwary because so many persons and factors have to be taken into consideration. There were literally dozens of splinter revolutionary groups before 1917, some in Russia, many outside. They coalesced and separated again and again and since most of the revolutionists were doctrinaires — indeed, with the exception of the short prelude in 1905 there was little chance for action until the Czar abdicated — the history of Bolshevism must be dug up from a host of pamphlets and transient periodicals and hundreds of memoirs, not an easy task but one which Mr. Carr accomplishes effortlessly.

Perhaps the largest contribution this book makes to knowledge of the period is the exhaustive analysis of the break-up of the Russian Empire in the early days of the revolution and the subsequent regaining of the lost territories in Europe and in Asia as a consequence of Lenin's shrewd tactics and uncanny political sensitivity. Nor does it detract from the value of this part of Mr. Carr's work to say that he is probably wrong in believing that the restoration of the Czarist Empire, under Bolshevik auspices, was a good thing. If the parts had remained separate, the West would have little to worry about today, looking at the matter selfishly. From another viewpoint, it is obvious to most workers in the field that the parts wanted to remain separate. The Ukraine for one has never been happy under rule from Moscow and there were — and still are — independence movements with great strength in the Caucasus and Soviet Central Asia.

Nothing that was said above should frighten the reader away from this book. It is well worth reading as the best picture we have of the forces which produced the Bolshevik Revolution and founded the Soviet state. Future volumes will be very welcome.

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derful world just east of Lexington Avenue.

A Man Gets Around covers a lot of the same ground and a good deal more besides. McNulty roams as far abroad as Kentucky ("Where the Grass, They Say, Is Blue") and Ireland ("Back Where I Had Never Binn") and, more surprisingly still, Fifth Avenue ("Can't Slip Any Drugs to Sisters on Fifth Avenue"), but it's the same McNulty and he is as good company as ever. For however far he may wander, in spirit he is always close to his original haunts, to a world of which he is as much the creator as the chronicler.

It's a pretty good world, all told. It has a lot of taverns and the El and, above all, character. It's funny, too, of course—not funny like Milton Berle, but funny like people. And best of all, it's a quiet world where a man can be alone and not lonely, a far cry from Times Square—only a few blocks west—where everything is too much of whatever it is and there's such sad waste of laughter and electricity. And because it has character, it is a world that can do without Class, which is what they are said to have over on Park and Fifth.

For the fact of it is McNulty is in a class all by himself. As Runyon once was to Broadway, so is McNulty now to Third Avenue, but where Runyon is "stylized," McNulty is style. He is a man of few words, a man who knows how to listen, and no Hemingway or O'Hara has listened so well or produced so truly the talk and thought of the ordinary citizen. For this is the way human beings are—absurdly involved in heart and mind, often well-meaning but more often muddled, with a touch of dignity no matter how shabby, so that they are truly, as a fine poet once said, the delight and despair of the world.

And so McNulty gives them to you—as they are, and as they were, and as they probably will be until the last atom breaks its heart. And even then, if you're lucky, you may meet up with Grogan or Grady or Paddy on Third Avenue, Paradise, for they have in them a spark of immortality deftly struck from the quiet genius of John McNulty.

KEVIN SULLIVAN

WARRIOR WITHOUT WEAPONS

By Marcel Junod. Translated by Edward Fitzgerald. Macmillan. 283p. \$4.

This is a deeply moving book. From 1935 to 1945—from Addis Ababa to Hiroshima—Dr. Marcel Junod, young Swiss surgeon, served as delegate of the International Committee of the Red Cross in the war-torn parts of the world, and here he records his

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There are in this book countless episodes which touch the heart. Perhaps two may be cited for their great poignancy: the old Spanish fisherman who, after weeks of waiting for news of his missing son, learned at last that the boy was alive, and then turned in gratitude to Dr. Junod and said, "I have nothing but my boat, señor. Take it"; and the emotion expressed by the entire Greek village of Issari on the arrival of a lorry containing desperately needed food, with a child's voice sobbing out, "There they are! There they are!"

Dr. Junod's errands were immensely complicated by the necessity for preserving complete impartiality, never showing his feelings or expressing his opinions even in the face of the worst possible situations. In this book, he relaxes a bit and reveals how terribly shocked he was on many occasions.

The final chapter is a plea for help to the Red Cross in its farflung operations. Certainly no one who has read this book will ever again refuse to contribute his mite towards the relief of his fellowman in times of trouble.

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On June 17 the Holy Father will kneel to venerate the relics of an obscure nun, newly proclaimed to be among the blessed in heaven. The ceremony will thrill thousands present in the Vatican Basilica. The announcement will delight hundreds of thousands who have reason to bless her work. For the new *beata* is Mother Thérèse Couderc, foundress of the Religious of Our Lady of the Retreat in the Cenacle, a congregation maintaining centers of catechetical instruction for children and retreats for women.

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altars not because of her wonderful work for retreats but because of her heroic sanctity. Indeed, retreats were a providentially accidental feature of the apostolate of a great missionary of the French countryside, Jean-Pierre Terme, to whom Marie-Victoire confided her eagerness to be a religious. In his efforts to repair the religious ravages of the Revolution, Father Terme had formed a small community of sisters to teach catechism and conduct schools. Their convent at La Louvesc offered hospitality to women visiting the nearby shrine of St. John Francis Regis, S.J. How to make the stay more spiritually profitable for these pilgrims and, incidentally, less disturbing for the nuns? A retreat struck Father Terme, who had just made the Spiritual Exercises, as the ideal solution.

Mother Coudere as the local Superior was in charge of the project. When it became clear that retreats were a fruitful and permanent apostolate, she became foundress and Rev-

erend Mother of a new religious community. When authority (after Father Terme's death) displaced her, she served God and her religious family loyally and with deepening holiness, in minor offices in the community.

Mother Coudere's firm faith fixed her heart singly on God and His purposes. Her faith was the foundation of her total self-surrender by which she strove to identify herself "for all the days of my life and every instant of the day" with Christ, the Victim of the unceasing Sacrifice. Such dedication gave Mother Coudere a spiritual serenity, a winsome openness to others, that mark her spiritual daughters in fifteen Cenacles in America today.

In anticipation of the coming beatification, Mother Eileen Surles, R.C., of the Boston Cenacle, has loyally recounted the career of her saintly Foundress, generously permitting Mother Coudere's letters to show her as the "Great and Human Soul" a previous biographer, Henri Perroy, S.J., called her. **EDWARD DUFF, S.J.**

THE WORD

"But one day I will see you again, and then your hearts will be glad; and your gladness will be one which nobody can take away from you." (John 16:22, III Sunday after Easter).

I watched the young mother. She was buying a bright red balloon for her little girl. The youngster danced up and down and a Christmas morning light came into her eyes. She held onto that flimsy stick with its pretty red bauble as though it were all that could ever matter. Her joy was bright.

But it was brief. A careless cigar-smoker brushed hurriedly by and dropped a hot ash on the bright red wonder. It vanished with a disappointing "pop." The child looked at the sad, tattered, little fragment still tied to the end of the stick. Her face folded into an expression of utter hopelessness. She had possessed all in the world she had wanted and suddenly it was gone. With a little whimper she buried her face in her mother's skirt.

Now most of us would smile sympathetically at the little girl. We might even wish there were a way to reassure children that the pretty trifles they so set their hearts on are not worth the bother. We would shake our heads knowingly and remark that children have to learn by having their little heartbreaks.

Just the same, I went away thinking this little incident was an excellent commentary on our own grown-up lives. After all, don't we spend a lot of our energies chasing our own kind of grown-up red balloons? When we go to the lengths we often do just to make an impression on other people, when we work so hard just to be able to buy a television set or a higher priced car, we must look just about as pitiful to God as the child with the red balloon does to us.

Not that it's always wrong to chase grown-up balloons. Grown-up balloons can be very important even when their only purpose is to make people happy. The trouble starts when we forget they are only balloons. Then we convince ourselves they are all-important and make them the whole goal of our striving. Being balloons, they are surely not worth *all* our attention. They are bound to blow up or deflate sooner or later. And if we have made the mistake of putting all our hopes on them they leave us as hopeless as disappointed children when they pop.

In this Sunday's gospel Our Lord tells His apostles about the lasting kind of joy that we were all made for, joy that need never blow up or deflate—eternal joy. He is telling us, too, just about what we might tell the child on the corner. He is warning us not to set our whole hearts on our little red balloons. They aren't that important and they won't last. Only one kind of joy deserves our complete and persevering ambition—eternal joy. It's the only kind that is big enough for us, the only kind that can never disappoint us. **DANIEL FOGARTY, S.J.**

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THEATRE

POSTSCRIPT. Some people have to learn the hard way, and I seem to be of that ilk. I was slow, for instance, to appreciate the beauty of *The Green Pastures*, universally acknowledged as an American classic. Concluding my review of the revival of the play in last week's column, I wrote: "As it was in the beginning, the story of God's way with his world is fascinating drama sprinkled with stardust."

When I first saw *The Green Pastures* I didn't notice the stardust. I was writing for a minority newspaper at the time, and I concluded my comment with "It will be interesting to see just how the Bible-belt folks will react to the proposition that, after all is said and done, God is merely a pretty fair colored actor who forgets his lines too often."

The play went on the road and played the small towns, and the folks in the small towns of the hinterland, to quote a stage cliché, "ate it up." I was still not convinced that Marc Connelly had written a first-rate drama. When the play was revived five years later, with Mr. Harrison elevated from featured actor to star in the role he had created, I said: "So, as thousands cheered . . . as it swept triumphantly from Broadway through tank towns and back to Broadway, I cling to my belief that it is, at best, a second rate play. After all, *Abie's Irish Rose* was popular, too."

That observation, which was quite as stupid as it looks, was written after I had become personally acquainted with Mr. Harrison, and had discussed *The Green Pastures* with him, along with numerous other things. He saw the beauty in the play but, for all his patience and the magnetism of his personality, was not able to make me see it.

But I had begun to comprehend and admire Harrison's stature as an actor. "If there ever was an actor-made play," I observed, "this is one. Harrison takes the production on his shoulders and climbs the steep slopes of Olympus." I think I would have written the same sentence if I had never met him and if we had not become friends.

I had seen Harrison twice before his appearance in *The Green Pastures*, the first time by sheer chance. It was late one summer afternoon, just after quitting time in the offices and shops, and I was riding home on the old Ninth Avenue "L." I was standing, of course, feeling lucky to get a strap to hang onto in the rush

hour, when I noticed an elderly man who had evidently boarded the train in time to get a seat. He had a benign countenance topped by a patriarchal white mane, the kind of face one rarely sees and never forgets.

I did not forget the face and I did see it again a few weeks later, when Harrison was playing the title character in *Pa Williams' Gal*, a play written by Frank Wilson, who played the title role in the Theatre Guild's original production of *Porgy*. That was the play which started me on the downward path from respectable citizen to drama critic. I saw the play one afternoon when I had nothing else to do

and wrote my impression of the production on the spur of the moment.

The unsolicited review that started me off as a drama critic was not flattering to Mr. Harrison. Some writer not too familiar with the details of Harrison's career wrote that he had never received a bad notice. I know he received at least two, because I was the smart alec who wrote both.

I was wrong once, and probably both times. My first and second impressions of *The Green Pastures* were also wrong. The shine on Marc Connelly's drama is really stardust. It is not tinsel, as I thought when the play was new.

THEOPHILUS LEWIS

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FILMS

TERESA serves to introduce an Italian
actress named Pier Angeli who is defi-
nitely worth seeing. As the war bride
of an American soldier, who has more
than her share of problems and heart-
aches in her adopted country, young
Miss Angeli is both very pretty and
an accomplished enough actress to
make the naive but courageous and
intuitively wise heroine a very appeal-
ing figure. Director Fred Zinneman—
whose earlier pictures include *The
Search* and *The Men*—has gone after
the European style of realism by using
a cast of unfamiliar faces, photograph-
ing the picture in its actual locales,
northern Italy and a New York City
tenement district, and eschewing
glamour as if it were the plague. The
story is the not uncommon one of a
girl who married a likable lad in a
soldier's uniform (John Ericson) only
to find that in civilian life he is totally
unprepared for the responsibilities of
husband and father, in this case be-
cause of the ambition-smothering tac-
tics of a possessive mother. Stewart
Stern's script is more successful in
showing Mom's (Patricia Collinge's)
baleful influence at work than it is in
demonstrating its final implication that
the boy shook himself free of it. Still
the picture in general is an honest,
touching and down-to-earth story
which *adults* should find a welcome
change. (MGM)

I CAN GET IT FOR YOU WHOLE-
SALE is apparently an attempt to do
for 7th Avenue's garment industry
what *All About Eve* did for the Broad-
way theatrical scene. The leading
character is a model-turned-dress de-
signer (Susan Hayward) who, like
Eve, her actress prototype, is as willing
and able to use foul means as fair in
getting to the top of her chosen pro-
fession. Her associates are a group of
outwardly sophisticated but inwardly
gullible people (Dan Dailey and Sam
Jaffe principally) whom she can out-
maneuver at will, the exception being
a diabolically urbane chap (George
Sanders) who happens to be a de-
partment store tycoon but who bears
a more than coincidental resemblance
to the drama critic role which re-
cently brought Sanders an "Oscar."
The spectacular difference between
the two pictures is that this one, once
having established its leading lady as
a genuine monster, tries to have its
cake and eat it too by palming her off
as a slightly muddled heroine who
finally sees the error of her ways.

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Subscription Rates

EFFECTIVE APRIL 7

As announced in the issue of March 17, the
subscription rates for AMERICA were in-
creased beginning with the issue of April 7.

AMERICA

One Year	\$ 7.00
Two Years	\$12.00
Three Years	\$17.00

AMERICA and CATHOLIC MIND

One Year	\$ 9.00
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Three Years	\$22.00

Postage Charges

To Canada	\$1.00 additional per year.
To other countries	\$1.50 additional per year.

The price of individual copies of AMERICA
sold in schools, churches and at newsstands
will remain at fifteen cents.

Though this soap-opera strategem bars it from any pretensions as a serious study, the *adult* film has a bright and professionally polished surface, some expert, ultra-sophisticated dialog and an inside view of the workings of a dynamic, cutthroat industry which looks authentic. (20th Century-Fox)

SOLDIERS THREE casts Stewart Granger, MGM's newest white hope in the swashbuckling hero department, as one of Kipling's famous, perennial privates in Her Majesty's Indian Army and rounds out the comic triumvirate with Robert Newton and Cyril Cusack, imported from the British Isles for the purpose. It also recruits Walter Pidgeon and David Niven to play the long-suffering superior officers of "the Queen's hard bargain." Collecting a first-rate cast, however, is this *adult* picture's only claim to inspiration. The comic situations look like they had been compounded out of discarded Abbott and Costello material and the adventure sequences, growing out of a native rising, bog down completely trying to steer a tactful course between Kipling's unabashed imperialism and the revolutionary notion of self-government for the dark races of the world.

MOIRA WALSH

PARADE

SOMEWHAT LIKE A MAGICIAN performing wondrous tricks, current history pulled from the bag of news a succession of eyebrow-raising events . . . Developing in unexpected ways, the events gave off a social atmosphere that was felt by diverse classes of men . . . Soldiers felt it . . . In Camp Pendleton, Calif., a furlough-bound sergeant, informed that an Air Force bomber was headed for Dayton, O., boarded it, and landed in Alaska . . . Taximen were affected . . . In New York, an immigrant woman just in from Yugoslavia handed the driver a thousand-dollar bill at the end of an eighty-cent taxi ride. Surprised because he could not change it, she revealed she had no other money. . . . The week's atmosphere filtered into domestic circles . . . In Colorado, after two telephone repairmen had unwittingly spliced their phones into a radio station's broadcast circuit, thousands of citizens in their homes could hear eight minutes of profanity and electrical chit-chat from the repairmen mixed with piano melodies from the studio.

Restricted to no one stereotyped form, the events displayed an uninhibited variety. . . . Conversations were reported . . . In Brooklyn, a pickpocket told the judge: "Your Honor, I was going through the man's pocket in order to see if he had any valuables. I know there are a lot of thieves around and I thought I would keep his valuables to protect them." The judge replied: "Well, that was very nice of you, but I think we'll have to hold you." . . . Voiced was the threat of more expensive dying . . . In Basing-Stroke, Eng., an alderman, arguing for increased burial charges, declared: "The cost of dying has got to keep pace with the cost of living." . . . New ways of obstructing judicial processes were on view . . . In Carlisle, Pa., after the foreman of a jury announced that a verdict had been reached, the court clerk inquired: "How do you find?" After moments of embarrassing silence, the foreman stammered: "I forget." The judge sent the jury back for a recount. . . . That one event can set off a chain-reaction of other unforeseen events was demonstrated. On the outskirts of Pearl River, N. Y., a hunter

took aim at a crow perched on a tree and fired. There was a blinding flash, followed by a thunderous roar. Huge clouds of smoke began climbing skyward. The unhit crow flew off; the terrified hunter jumped into a nearby river. For miles around, windows, glassware, crockery were broken. Fire companies from six adjacent towns raced to the scene. The hunter's shot had entered a fireworks plant, hidden by trees, and ignited a large quantity of gunpowder. Happily, the workers had departed twenty minutes before the crow alighted on the tree, and no one was injured.

Each week, current history draws from the bag of news some events which are beyond the control of the individual concerned . . . Thus a man's earthly career may be affected by misfortunes for which he is not responsible . . . It would be a frightening thing if his eternal career could be similarly determined. . . . Fortunately, this can't be . . . Only the acts over which a man has control decide where he will spend Eternity

JOHN A. TOOMEY

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CORRESPONDENCE

Wage and price freezes

EDITOR: I liked your appraisal of labor's point of view in the wage and price squabble (Am. 3/10, p. 657). The attempt to control wages while allowing prices to run wild must appear ludicrous to all but the big-business-controlled press. Voices raised to present labor's case are few indeed in this land of the fast buck.

WILLIAM LUNDY JR.

Appleton, Wis.

Ex-chaplain speaks

EDITOR: With regard to the controversy in the correspondence column as to Mass being read in the vernacular, as yet I have heard no one mention that the Mass is an *action*, not merely a set of prayers.

"Latin is no longer the people's language," says someone. That is true. However, it is the medium through which the Mass is presented to a good many million people who speak in a hundred different tongues. As Port Chaplain in Oran during the late war, I had this demonstrated, when I had to say Mass for the German and Italian prisoners, and transient outfits from the United States, Great Britain, France, South America, Poland, and various other countries. Then I was glad that I could officiate in a solid language to which all were accustomed.

RT. REV. MSGR. H. D. BUCHANAN
 El Paso, Tex.

Touché

EDITOR: The advertisement for *Lily of the Marshes* in your March 3 issue (p. 648) states that St. Maria Goretti was "inspired by her *adoration* of the Bless Virgin." Shall we credit your proof-reader with an Homeric nod?

RALPH W. NORTON

Pittsburgh, Pa.

Interested worker

EDITOR: I am the oldest worker at the local Weyenberg Shoe Factory. In a few days I shall be 71 years old.

I read with great interest your editorial on Christ the Worker. No, I hope we'll never have that feast. It would prove invidious.

Thank Fr. Parsons for his review of Dean Manion's book. I'm calling the attention of my friends to it.

OSCAR H. BAUER

Boston, Mass.

And more to come

EDITOR: We appreciate very much Father Parsons' careful analysis of the philosophy behind *The Key to Peace*.

Too many of the book reviews have been most superficial in their treatment of philosophy of government in Manion's book. Father Parsons has helped all of us to understand better the Christian philosophy of government and that of our American government.

ED MARCINIAK

Chicago, Ill.

EDITOR: I read with interest and grave concern Fr. Parsons' review of Dean Manion's *The Key to Peace* (Am. 3/24). Fr. Parsons was extremely charitable. I should like to see a more thorough analysis of the book in a subsequent issue of AMERICA. Such errors as this book contains should not go unchallenged, especially since it will be widely read by influential people.

The appearance of the volume is cause for grave alarm among Catholics. It offers ample evidence of a lack of knowledge of natural-law theory, especially in regard to the nature and origin of government, the personal and social functions of property, the social nature of man, international society and social policy.

The Key to Peace has caused in me the same intellectual dissatisfaction produced by public-relations brochures in defense of economic individualism in the U. S. Publications dealing with the debate over public health insurance sponsored, however indirectly, by the A.M.A. had the same effect. Any connection?

(REV.) FRANCIS W. CARNEY, S.T.D.

Director, Institute of Social Education, St. John College.
 Cleveland, Ohio.

(One very eminent authority, several competent scholars and two very alert Catholic businessmen have privately voiced their entire approval of Fr. Parsons' review. An unavoidable absence on my part will delay "a more thorough analysis." The Michigan Catholic for March 29 editorializes in favor of our review. Since our March 24 issue sold out immediately, we are offering reprints of the review free to all who request them of America Press, Grand Central Terminal Building, 70 E. 45th St., New York 17, N. Y.—Ed.)